

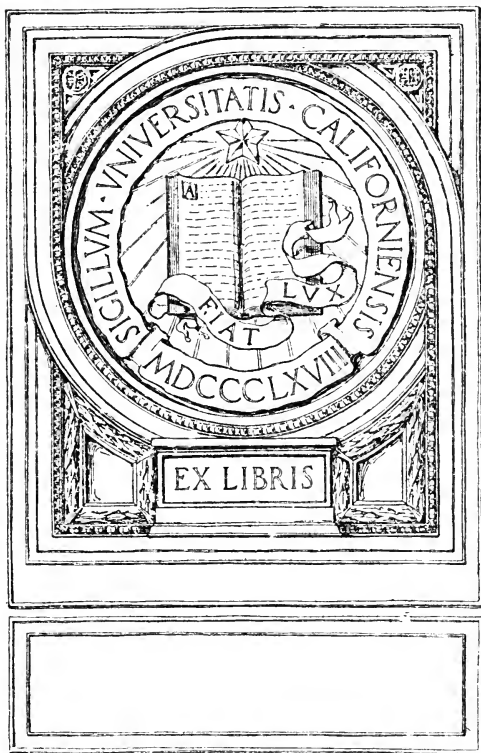
# Gleanings in Church History

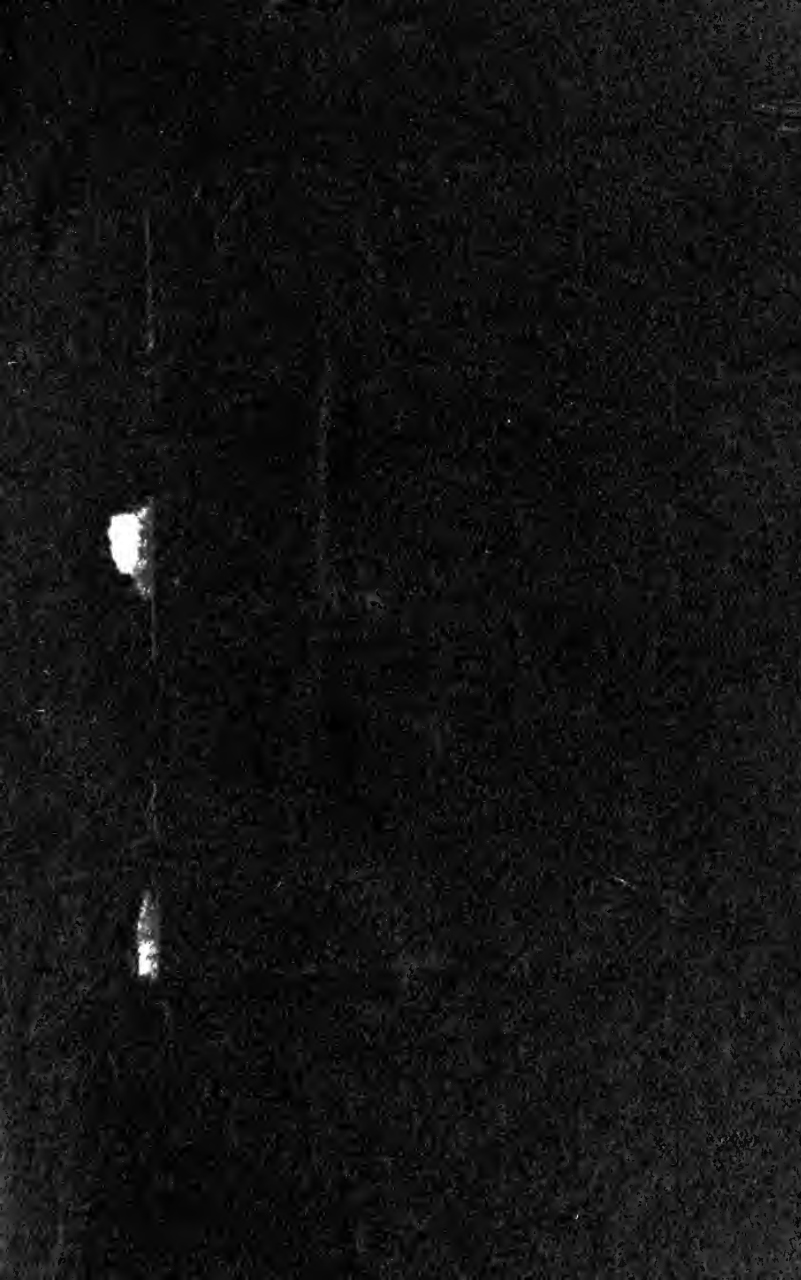
*CHIEFLY IN SPAIN  
AND FRANCE . . .*



REV.  
WENTWORTH WEBSTER











# GLEANINGS IN CHURCH HISTORY

CHIEFLY IN SPAIN AND FRANCE

BY

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## PREFACE

THE student will see at once that the writer of the following pages has lived away from libraries, and that he has neither the means nor the pretension to write a Church History. These gleanings are only from a few outlying fields ; but they have been honestly gathered, not pillaged in bulk from other men's sheaves.

A good deal of misconception would be avoided if English Churchmen, desirous of information on the tenets of the Church of Rome, would seek it from accredited documents, not from manuals written in English *ad hoc*. The last compendious authoritative utterance of the Church of Rome is contained in the *Acta et Decreta* of the Latin-American Council held at Rome in 1899, and in the accompanying *Appendix* volume of documents (see Chap. xvi. below). An example will illustrate the difference between the two classes of publication. I have before me a 16mo vol. of 430 pages, entitled *Catholic Belief*, by the very Rev. Joseph Faa di Bruno, fourth edition, re-ordered and revised (Burns and Oates, 1883). It bears the imprimatur of Cardinal Manning. Not a word is said in it about the Cult of the Sacred Heart. The Latin-American Council was solemnly consecrated to the Sacred Heart. In sections 42 and 43 we read—

"42. Omnes Christi Fideles, pro more in Catholica Ecclesia recepto, latriæ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, sanctissimo Eucharistiæ sacramento in veneratione exhibere tenentur." "43. Eodem latriæ cultu adoramus Cor Jesu: Cor nempe personæ Verbi." See also sections 375-9. In the opening of his Encyclical *De sanctissima Eucharistia*, May 27, 1902, Leo XIII. speaks of two recent acts, the recollection of which is peculiarly grateful to him. The first is: "Quum optimum factu censuimus augusto Cordi Christi Redemptoris universitatem humani generis peculiari ritu devoveri."<sup>1</sup>

The reader will perhaps also be astonished at the use made of Jesuit writers. Most people think of Jesuits as all cut after the same pattern, all ultra-conservatives, all holding the same opinions. But there is almost as much difference of opinion to be found among Jesuits on political and social matters as among any other set of men. Three of the writers made use of in the following pages, Burriel (1719-1762), Larramendi (1690-1766), and Masdeu (1740-1817), are among the most liberal historians of Spain. The last has been almost too sceptical in his searching criticism of the sources of Spanish history; and no one can study Spanish Church history without being under a debt of obligation to the learned Jesuit, R. P. F. Fita, as I gratefully acknowledge. To give a fascination of terror to any body of men is a great mistake. In the time of Louis Philippe, when all France was ringing with the passionate declama-

<sup>1</sup> This was done by the Encyclical *Annum Sacrum*, May 25, 1899.

tions of Quinet and Michelet against the Jesuits, and the newspapers were full of calumnies against them, the Jesuits in Paris interrupted their usual religious lection at the refectory, and read instead the most violent of these denunciations. Some few weak-kneed men left them, but the great majority who remained were henceforth proof against attack, and inaugurated a fresh era of prosperity for the Society in France. A work which has also been made much use of in the following pages is the *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, by the great critic Don Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo.

Another object of these papers is to show how like in many respects was the action of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Charles V., and of Philip II., towards the Church in Spain to that of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth towards the Church of England. The close alliance of relationship between the Tudor sovereigns and the Spanish kings has been too much overlooked by recent English Church historians. More than once was a breach with Rome and the establishment of a Spanish national Church threatened by Spanish kings.

With the exception of the last, all these chapters have appeared in the pages of the *Anglican Church Magazine* or of the *Foreign Church Chronicle*. Most of them have been considerably enlarged, all are brought down more or less to date, and references, which could not be given in the pages of a magazine, have been added.

# CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. ST. JAMES THE GREATER IN SPAIN . . . . .	11
II. MINOR CHRISTIAN LATIN POETS . . . . .	37
III. EARLY CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS. R.I.P. REQUI- ESCAT OR REQUIESCIT? . . . . .	61
IV. THE SPANISH CHURCH UP TO THE YEAR 1000 . . . . .	78
V. IGNATIUS LOYOLA AND THE COUNTER- REFORMATION . . . . .	99
VI. SANTA TERESA . . . . .	116
VII. JUAN DE VALDÉS AND MIGUEL DE MOLINOS: A STUDY IN MYSTICISM . . . . .	136
VIII. HISPANISM AND REGALISM IN THE SPANISH CHURCH . . . . .	158
IX. A MODERN SAINT, PHILOMENA DE SANTA COLOMBA . . . . .	177
X. LA PETITE ÉGLISE . . . . .	199
XI. F. R. DE LAMENNAIS AND F. D. MAURICE: A LIKENESS AND A CONTRAST . . . . .	215
XII. LE PÈRE D'ALZON, FOUNDER OF THE FATHERS OF THE ASSUMPTION, 1810-1880 . . . . .	239
XIII. ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS IN SPAIN . . . . .	253
XIV. A SPANISH NEW YEAR'S EVE'S SERVICE . . . . .	266
XV. EUCHARISTIC CONGRESSES IN THE CHURCH OF ROME—	
I.—JERUSALEM, 1893 . . . . .	276
II.—RHEIMS, 1894 . . . . .	286
III.—BRUSSELS, 1898 . . . . .	298
IV.—LOURDES, 1899 . . . . .	305
XVI. THE LATIN-AMERICAN COUNCIL AT ROME IN 1899 . . . . .	311
XVII. LEGEND AND FOLK-LORE, CREDULITY AND INCREUDILITY, IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY . . . . .	338

# GLEANINGS IN CHURCH HISTORY

## I

### ST. JAMES THE GREATER IN SPAIN

ON the 19th of July, 1884, the Congregation of Sacred Rites at Rome put forth a decree declaring that the bones of three skeletons discovered, in January, 1879, under the pavement in the centre of the apse behind the great altar in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostella in Galicia in Spain, are those of St. James the son of Zebedee, and of his companions, Theodore and Athanasius.

I propose in the following pages to give a hasty sketch of the evidence on which this decree is founded. I shall use none but Roman Catholic evidence and authorities, and even of those I have but few at hand out of many which might be cited in support of my statements.

It may be as well to say a few words as to the claim which the alleged fact of the preaching of St. James in Galicia, and the translation and entombment of his body there, had on the credence of Roman Catholics before the present decree. It is true that the belief in both became almost, but not

quite, universal in Spain. In the year 962 the bishops of north-eastern Spain declare "that the Apostle came here after he had been killed, but by no means when living."<sup>1</sup> In the rivalry between the Sees of Toledo and Compostella for the primacy of Spain, Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo (1208-1245), puts forth doubts concerning the whole story at the Lateran Council of 1215;<sup>2</sup> but on the whole the belief was firmly held in Spain,<sup>3</sup> and it was considered there almost heresy to doubt it.

Very different, however, has it been outside that country in the Western Church. The Greek and Eastern Churches know nothing of it; they suppose the body of the Apostle to be buried at Marmarica. In the article on St. James in the *Dictionnaire Universel des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, par l'Abbé J. B. Glaire (Paris, 1868), one of the most popular manuals in France, and by no means of Gallican tone, there is not a word either on the preaching of St. James in Spain, or of the translation of his body thither. The only statement bearing on it is the very cautious one, "It is believed that St. James was the first to preach the Gospel to the Jews dispersed throughout the world; but what is certain is, that he preached with zeal in Jerusalem." In the *Dictionnaire Hagiographique*, in the collection of the Abbé Migne, vol. ii. p. 11 (1850), we read

<sup>1</sup> *España Sagrada*, t. xix. p. 372, and quoted with approval by Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, vol. ii. p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1701), vol. i. note, p. 597.

<sup>3</sup> Even by Masdeu, who was so sceptical on many points of Spanish history.



that "The details of his labours are unknown; it appears that he quitted Judea soon after the martyrdom of St. Stephen, to go and announce the divine Word to the twelve tribes dispersed, and, *after the tradition of the Church of Spain*, he went to carry the torch of faith to that country. . . . The body of the holy Apostle was interred at Jerusalem; but shortly afterwards his disciples brought it to Spain and buried it at Iria-Flavia, now El Padron, on the frontier of Galicia. These precious relics were discovered in the ninth century, under the reign of Alfonso the Chaste, King of Leon, and were transported by order of this prince to Compostella, whither Pope Leo III. transferred the Episcopal See of Iria-Flavia."

As said above, one of the earliest to throw doubt on the preaching of St. James in Spain was the celebrated Rodrigo Jimenez de la Rada, Archbishop of Toledo. At the Lateran Council, 1215, speaking against the transfer of the primacy from Toledo to Compostella, he said: "Ego tantum legi datam ei fuisse potestatem predicandi in Hispaniam, sed interim cum per Judæam et Samariam divinam legem seminaret, sub Herode Hierosolomis, truncato capite, exhaluit animam et Domino reddidit. Quomodo ergo ibi predicavit, qui nondum ingressus est? Memini bene, in primis me annis, accepisse a quibusdam sanctis Monialibus et Religiosis Viduis, paucos admodum ejus prædicatione ad fidem conversos esse, in qua cum tam exiguos progressus effici videret in patriam reversus, fato functus est." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica de España*, por Don T. Padilla, 1 vol. 8vo, fol. 23 (Malaga, 1605).

The legend of St. James the Greater, in the Breviary of Pius V., said, without further details, that the Apostle had "traversed Spain, and had preached the Gospel there, then had returned to Jerusalem." Bellarmine requested that this assertion should be removed from the Breviary, since it was founded on no evidence worthy of credit. Baronius disregarded the representations of Bellarmine, and had the following phrase inserted :—<sup>1</sup> "Mox Hispaniam adiisse, et ibi aliquos ad fidem convertisse, Ecclesiarum illius Provinciæ traditio est." In 1608 this was again altered to "Mox Hispaniam adiisse, et aliquos discipulos ad fidem convertisse, apud Hispanos receptum esse affirmatur." But, on the strong protest of the Spanish Church, this was removed in 1625, and the present reading adopted : "25 Iulii. S. Jacobi Apos., Lectio V., 'Mox in Hispaniam profectus, ibi aliquos ad Christum convertit ; ex quorum numero septem postea Episcopi a beato Petro ordinati, in Hispaniam primi directi sunt. Deinde Ierosolymam reversus ;' in Lectio VI., "Corpus ejus postea Compostellam translatus est, ubi summa celebritate colitur." The Abbate Gaëtan Cenni in his work, *De antiquitate Ecclesiæ Hispaniæ* (2 vols. 4to, 1740-1), held these views quite as strongly as Bellarmine. In fact, Roncaglia (1677-1737) says it is acknowledged, that it was considered by critics a settled matter that St. James did *not* preach in Spain. Against these Cornelius a Lapide<sup>2</sup> (d. 1637), in his

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, par Pierre Batiffol, p. 257 (A. Picard, Paris, 1893).

<sup>2</sup> Cornelius a Lapide, S.J. (Cornelissen van den Stein),

commentary on Acts xii. 2,<sup>1</sup> writes, "Universalis est immemorabilis, non tantum Hispaniæ, sed et fidelium ubique, traditio cui infragari nemo potest." The tradition is, of course, impugned by all writers of the Gallican school. We shall mention De Tillemont,<sup>2</sup> and only because he puts forth an explanatory suggestion which has since been adopted and developed by the German Benedictine Gams. In vol. i. p. 329, De Tillemont writes, "The body of St. James the Greater might have been transferred in the seventh or eighth century, on account of the Saracens being masters of the East, and carried to Galicia," and he elaborates this theory in his notes at the end of the volume. Of the earlier preaching of St. James, which he rejects, Gams says bluntly, "For this mission journey there is no evidence in antiquity."<sup>3</sup> It is hardly necessary to continue our citations in this sense. We conclude with the words of a recent Spanish historian, whom none will suspect of heresy. Dr. M. Menendez y Pelayo, after considering all the authorities, sums up the matter thus: "It would be rash to deny the preaching of St. James, but neither is it very safe to affirm it. Since the sixteenth century the case has been on trial."<sup>4</sup>

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1566-1637, born at Bocholt, near Liege, was a Spanish subject in the Netherlands.

<sup>1</sup> *Commentaire sur l'Ecriture Sainte*, 10 vols. fol., Anvers, 1681. This and the above passages I quote from *España Sagrada*, vol. iii. p. 39 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des six premiers Siècles*, 2nd edit. Vol. i. p. 329, 16 vols. (Paris, 1701).

<sup>3</sup> *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, 5 vols. Vol. iii. p. 362 (Regensburg, 1862-1879).

<sup>4</sup> *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, vol. i. p. 47. 3 vols. (Madrid, 1880).

It will be well now to state the earliest form of the legends, and the evidence on which they are founded. We must carefully distinguish the two traditions: one, which tells of the preaching of St. James in Spain, A.D. 40-41; the other, which relates the miraculous translation of his body after decapitation; and, thirdly, the theory of the transportation of his relics from Sinai to Saragossa, and thence to Compostella in the seventh or eighth century.

The earliest certain mention of the preaching of St. James in Spain is in the treatise *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, found among the works of Isidore, Bishop of Seville from 600-636, "Jacobus, filius Zebedæi, frater Joannis, quartus in nomine, duodecim tribubus quæ sunt in dispersione gentium scripsit, atque Hispaniæ et occidentalium locorum gentibus Evangelium prædicavit, et in occasu mundi lucem prædicationis infudit. Hic ab Herode tetracha gladio cæsus occubuit. Sepultus in Marmarica."<sup>1</sup> Baronius, Cenni, De Tillemont and others dispute the authenticity of this passage. It would, however, be hardly more than a century later. Didymus of Alexandria,<sup>2</sup> and St. Jerome,<sup>3</sup> are sometimes cited in favour; but they state merely that one of the Apostles preached in Spain. The exact date of the hymn in the Mozarabic Missal is very doubtful, more especially as the

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologiæ*, t. lxxxiii. p. 151. On Marmarica, cf. *Saint Jacques en Galice*, par l'Abbé L. Duchesne, Membre de l'Institut, pp. 15-18 (Toulouse, 1900).

<sup>2</sup> Didymus, *De Trinitate*, lib. ii. c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Jerome, *Comment. in Isaiam*, xxxiv. 16, 17.

editors of Migne's *Patrologiæ* assert in a note to the earliest *Kalendarium Gotho-Hispanum*, "*Jacobi* non satis constat quo die Gotho-Hispani hunc Apostolum coluerunt."<sup>1</sup> Cenni asserts that the hymn "was not sung before the loss of Spain, since there is no feast to be found dedicated to this saint in the Isidorian Calendar." Gams, too, allows that in Gothic times there was only one feast, and that on the 29th of December. The story of St. James's preaching is mixed, too, with that of the apparition to him of the Blessed Virgin Mary, before her Assumption, on a pillar at Saragossa, where, at her command, he built the first Christian Church. Beside those mentioned, San Julian of Toledo,<sup>2</sup> Bede, and St. Aldhelm of Canterbury, the real author of some verses formerly attributed to Walafrid Strabo,<sup>3</sup> are the only authors who lived before the time of the Moorish invasion that mention the preaching of St. James in Spain. It will be observed, too, that not one of these knows anything of the translation of the body either to Compostella or to Spain.

The decree of the Congregation of Sacred Rites says nothing of this preaching. It is the tradition of the translation of the body which is there sanctioned. Nor is there any distinct assertion of the date of the alleged translation, though the words "*quo delatum est ejus sacratissimum Corpus ab Hierosolymis postquam, Herode jubente,*

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologiæ*, t. lxxxv. p. 1053, note c.

<sup>2</sup> But see Duchesne, *op. cit.* pp. 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Recuerdos de un Viaje a Santiago de Galicia*, por R. P. F. Fita y D. A. Fernandez-Guerra, p. 123 (Madrid, 1880).

gladio fuit percutsum," and "sepulchrum per tot sæcula illustratum," may perhaps be understood to favour the earlier date.

As Mariana remarks, "neither in the remaining time of the Roman Empire, nor in the time in which the Goths were lords of Spain have we any notice of the sepulchre of Santiago."<sup>1</sup> Absolutely no mention appears of the story of the miraculous translation and burial of St. James at Compostella before the times of Theodomir, Bishop of Iria, of Alfonso the Chaste (791-843), and the Epistle of Pope Leo III. (793-816). About the year 772, apparently, the shepherds and others frequenting a hill called Illicinus (since Mons Sacer, Monsagro) reported to Theodomir, Bishop of Iria, that a great light was seen issuing from a thicket which covered some ruins. The bishop went there, and in the substructions of the ruins found a vaulted chamber, in which were three marble sarcophagi, containing severally the bodies of St. James and his two disciples, Athanasius and Theodore. The bishop reported the discovery to King Alfonso, who gave the hill and the land for three miles round to the saint. The first official recognition of the Invention by the Church is in the Epistle of Pope Leo III., several copies of which are preserved, differing much in detail; the oldest of these copies seems to be traced back to an original which is said to have existed at the date of the 16th of

<sup>1</sup> *Historia General de España*, por el padre Juan de Mariana, S.J., vol. i. 303, fol. (Valencia, 1794). "Por donde ni en lo restante del imperio Romano, ni en el tiempo que los Godos fueron señores de España, se tenia noticia del sepulcro sagrado del Apostol Santiago," lib. vii. c. 10.

September, 1077. It is asserted in this epistle, one copy of which already recognizes the Feast of the Translation, "quæ III. Kalendas ianuarii celebratur,"<sup>1</sup> that after the martyrdom of the Apostle, his disciples took his body (*v. l.* bones, ossa) to Joppa, where they found a ship ready, in which they placed the body and came with a prosperous course to Iria. There they disembarked and took the body to an estate called "Liberum Donum," eight (*v. l.* twelve) miles distant. There they found a large heathen temple with an idol, and in the temple iron implements, with which, when they had destroyed the idol, they wrought a subterranean chamber, and buried the body there. The rest of the disciples, variously given as seven or nine or twelve, dispersed; but Theodore and Athanasius<sup>2</sup> remained to guard the body, and begged that when they died they should be buried at the side of the Apostle. In one MS. of the epistle, the destruction of the idol and temple is described metaphorically, "flatum draconis destruxerunt per meritum beati iacobi, et ejus instrumenta diruperunt in montem." The metaphor in later legends is translated into actual fact. In a charter of Bishop Sisnandus (A.D. 914),<sup>3</sup> the figure is still preserved, speaking of Mount Ilicinus, "et ab omni spurcitia diaboli, et flatu pestiferi draconis purgatus;" but in the Codex Calixtinus we read :—

<sup>1</sup> *Recuerdos de un Viaje*, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> We need hardly remark that the formation of these Christian Greek names is later than Apostolic times.

<sup>3</sup> *Recuerdos de un Viaje*, p. 120.

"Dum enim montis confinia gressibus calcant.  
 Ex improvise ingens dracho,  
 proprio digrediens ab antro  
 in sanctos Dei famulos ignes evomendo  
 quasi impetum facturus  
 evolat, exitium minando."—But at the sign of the cross,  
 "Dominici signum stigmatis ferre non valens,  
 ventris rumpitur medio."<sup>1</sup>

In later legends, *e. g.* that of the Fleury MS., he becomes "immanissimus draco; qui omnes circum se positos pagos horrendo atque horribili flatus sui anhelitu exinaniverat omnes, extinxerat animantia ac deglutierat, et reliqua omnia protriverat."<sup>2</sup> Exactly as the serpent does in the Pyrenean folk-lore tale, "Le Serpent d'Issabit."<sup>3</sup> There are many other miraculous incidents on which we cannot insist. In all the narratives the translation takes place immediately after the martyrdom. This, too, is the natural sense of the martyrologies of Usuard (d. 876) and Nokter (d. 912), though they do not absolutely prohibit a different meaning. In all versions of the legends the bodies are said to be buried "sub arcis marmoricis."

Over the crypt thus discovered we are told that Theodomir and Alfonso the Chaste built first a small church with mud walls; this, however, was shortly afterwards reconstructed by Alfonso III. in 899, out of materials "petrās marmoreas," from the ruins of Eabeca,<sup>4</sup> and of sculptured columns from Oporto. This church was, however, almost destroyed in a raid of Almanzor, 16th and 17th of

<sup>1</sup> *Recuerdos de un Viaje*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> For a spirited poetical version of this legend see F. Soutras' *Les Pyrénéennes*, p. 279 (Paris, 1856).

<sup>4</sup> *Recuerdos de un Viaje*, p. 61, notes.



August, 997; but the sepulchre remained intact. The present cathedral was begun by Diego Gelmirez, the first archbishop, in 1112, and the greater altar was constructed over the crypt and sepulchre which contained the relics. There was a dim tradition in the chapter that these last had been concealed at the time of Drake's attempt on Corunna, May, 1589;<sup>1</sup> but this was not verified until the researches of the present archbishop.

This is, perhaps, the place to draw attention to some curious particulars about the legends and the shrine. These traditions and documents present old topographical names in a very curious stage. They are neither the old names of classical Spain, nor the still older native names, and still less the subsequently-formed modern ones. Thus the classical Iria Flavia, at which the miraculous ship deposited its precious burden, is called "Bisria" in one text of the Epistle of St. Leon, "Hyria" in the other; in the Fleury legend it is Birivus, in others Bisrivus, the modern name being El Padron. The mountain on which the dragon was killed is called "Ilicinus;" its more modern names are Mons Sacer, Monsagro. The spot on the estate on which the bodies were buried is called Liberum Donum, now Compostella.<sup>2</sup> The owner of the estate is a lady

<sup>1</sup> *Monumentos Antiguos de la Iglesia Compostellana*, por D. A. Lopez Fereiro y P. F. Fita, p. 57 (Madrid, 1883). Some previously inedited Spanish accounts of this expedition are given in *Don Pedro Enríquez de Acevedo, Conde de Fuentes*, por D. C. Fernandez Duro (Madrid, 1884), and *Recuerdos*, pp. 79, 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Recuerdos de un Viaje*, pp. 26 and 69, notes. As an illustration of such changes, we may notice that, when it was forgotten who the Norman Walter was, his Somersetshire

called Lupa, and her house Luparia. Now, throughout the toponymy of northern Spain we often find the Latinists of the cartularies, etc., translating the old native name into the nearest Latin name of like sound which will give any signification, but without any regard to the original meaning. Thus, here *Iria* is a Basque word meaning simply the city, Iria Flavia; Flavia's town, or Flaviaville, as our transatlantic cousins might call it. But Iria Flavia is situated at the confluence of two rivers, the Sar and the Ullia, and the meaning of Iria was forgotten, so these Latinists called it Bisria, Bisrivus, the two rivers, or the two banks; and when this, too, was unintelligible, the town was called El Padron. Ilicinus probably conceals a Basque name; but Liberum Donum is again a strange Latin reading of a Celtic name, Libredon or dun, meaning hill fort. The subsequent name "Compostella," the field of the star, seems to be connected with the dreams of Charlemagne and of St. Felix de Lobio, and with the fact that in so many dialects the "Milky Way" is called the road or the bridge of St. James. We notice these points because they show at once that none of the Liturgical so-called Gothic hymns, in which the more modern names are found, can have been written in the times of the Goths.

There are, too, some curious remains of older worship in this story. The whole of this district of

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town, *Burgh Walter*, became *Bridgewater*. Padron is perhaps *Petronus*, with reference to the rock which served the Apostle for an altar, or under which he was buried. *Recuerdos*, p. 29.

Galicia is full of Megalithic and other ancient constructions or ruins. Two of these near El Padron are dedicated to the memory of the Apostle.<sup>1</sup> In all forms of the tradition appear the heathen temple and idol and the marble tombs. This last may have been suggested by traditions of the Greek Church.<sup>2</sup> The mention of such monuments occur often in documents of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, describing lands given to the Church.<sup>3</sup> The actual crypt opened in 1879 still retains the fragment of a Roman mosaic, with the *Swastika* Cross, and a fragment of a column, doubtless part of the Column of St. James,<sup>4</sup> which supports the altar. The very altar itself is a relic of pagan times, and until effaced by Archbishop Don Juan de San Clemente, on the 15th of February, 1601, a Latin heathen inscription was still legible there. Fortunately, two copies of it are still extant.<sup>5</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> See the illustrations of these given on p. 28 of *Recuerdos de un Viaje*.

<sup>2</sup> In the *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* we have "Sepultus in Marmarica." Œcumenius says, "ἐν πόλει τῆς Μαρμαρικῆς."

<sup>3</sup> In a donation of A.D. 916, "Inde ad petram scriptam quæ est in muro de citofacte . . . et per illa anta quæ stat in illo fontano de Villa Verde." *Antas*, according to Florez, are stones or rocks erected by nature. Again, "Per illo anterio de super illo Casal de Conchido, inde ad illa anta . . . inde ad illo Marco qui stet in illo arrogio." And in another of A.D. 995, "Juxta arrogium Mære et non procul a Monte Nave fractæ." *España Sagrada*, vol. xix. pp. 356, 384, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Recuerdos*, p. 63. The inscription on the column is—

Cum sancto Jacobo fuit hæc adlata columna,  
Araque scripta simul que super est posita.  
Cujus discipuli sacrarunt, credimus, ambas,  
Ac ex his aram constituere suam.

<sup>5</sup> Fita interprets these in a Celtic, Hübner in a Roman,

874, Alfonso III., with his queen Ximena, gave a magnificent cross, enriched with fifty-one gems, of which nineteen only remain. Among these gems were Greek and Roman cameos, an abraxas-gem, and two topazes, with Arabic inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> It is strange how quickly and how far the fame and worship of Santiago spread. As we have seen, the name of Charlemagne is connected with it; and Galicia seems to have been known to the Northern Vikings only by the name of Jakobsland.

All the legends which we have hitherto examined speak of the translation of the corpse, or of the bones, of the Apostle immediately after his martyrdom at Jerusalem, of the landing at Iria and the discovery of his sepulchre at Liberum Donum or Compostella. Leaving aside later developments of these legends, there remains the theory advocated by De Tillemont and by Gams, who are startled by the difficulties of the more common traditions. After a quotation

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sense. Fita's text, *Recuerdos*, pp. 61-143, gives two readings.

	D.M.S.		D.M.S.
	ATI·AM·OETAT		ATIAMO ET·AT·
Fita,	TETLUM·PS·A	p. 143.	T·ET·LVM·P·S·
p. 61.	VIRI·AEMO		VI·R·I·AMO·N
	NEP·TISP·IANO·XVI		NEPTIS PI·ANO
	ETS·F·C		XVI·ET·S·F·C·

	D.M.S.
	ATIAMOETAT
Hübner	TETLVMPSA
2547.	VIRIAEMO
	NEPTIS PIANO XVI
	ET·S·F·C·

<sup>1</sup> Arabic inscriptions are comparatively frequent on altars and church furniture in Spain. Cf. *inter alia*, *The Industrial Arts in Spain*, by Juan F. Riaño, pp. 11, 12, 13, 254 (Chapman and Hall, 1879).

from Fortunatus, which he considers proves that the body of St. James was still in Judæa in the fourth century, De Tillemont proceeds: "The body of St. James the Greater might have been transported thence in the seventh or eighth centuries, because the Saracens were then masters of the East, and carried to Galicia;"<sup>1</sup> and again in his notes, "There might then be more probability in saying that, in the disorders of the seventh century, and amid the ravages of the Saracens then and afterwards in Palestine, the body of St. James was transported to Galicia on some opportunity, and there remained unknown until about the year 800, on account of the troubles which the invasion of the Saracens caused throughout Spain in the eighth century; if, nevertheless, it is necessary to say that it remained some time hidden, of which we shall speak in note 8, *it is a conjecture without proof*, but it is, nevertheless, quite as much proved as what else is said on the subject. I think that it gets better rid of all the difficulties, and makes it more easy to maintain that the relics at Compostella are really those of St. James the Greater."<sup>2</sup> This hypothesis has been lately taken up and developed by Gams.<sup>3</sup> The element which he has added is this. In one of the texts of the Epistle of St. Leo III., the corpse is said to be borne "*navigio in rathem*," and "*sic requievit inter illa rathe et sare*."<sup>4</sup> In some lists the name of the first

<sup>1</sup> Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, vol. i. p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 598.

<sup>3</sup> Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, vol. ii. p. 297 (1864), iii. lib. x. c. 1 (1874), v. p. 505 (1879).

<sup>4</sup> *Recuerdos de un Viaje*, p. 120, and Fita's note.

Bishop of Braga is Petrus Rathensis, and he is said to have been one of the disciples of St. James, as Athanasius and Theodore are said to have been the first Bishops of Saragossa.

The body of St. James from the years 521-525 Gams believes to have been in the monastery of Raithu in Jerusalem; thence to have been transferred in the time of Justinian to a monastery Rayeh near Mount Sinai, and thence brought in the seventh century by Petrus Rathensis and his two companions, Athanasius and Theodore, to Saragossa, and on the capture of that place by the Moors in 714 to have been transferred to Compostella, where it was buried and remained unknown till some time between the years 756-829. According to this theory the appellation of Rathensis, which really came from Raithu in Jerusalem, or from Rayeh near Mount Sinai, suggested the word "ratis," or "rathis," a raft, in the Epistle of St. Leo and the early legends, and gave occasion to the whole story of the miraculous voyage of the corpse of St. James shortly after his martyrdom.

But the hypothesis seems to be as full of difficulties as any of the preceding legends. Neither in the Epistle of St. Leo, nor in the deed of Alfonso the Chaste, the earliest documents which tell of the discovery of the body at Compostella, is the name of Petrus mentioned; nor is it prominent in any of the early lists of the disciples of St. James. In these traditions the place of disembarkation is always said to be Iria. The connection of Saragossa with the story is only with

relation to the fantastic legend of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary, before the Assumption, on a pillar to St. James, and the erection of the first Christian Church there; but as Gams utterly rejects the preaching of St. James in Spain in his lifetime, we do not see how he can build on this, which is an integral part of the same story. There is scarcely time between the fall of Saragossa, 714, and the date of Theodomir, probably 774, for the utter oblivion into which the burial-place had fallen, and for the grove of trees to have covered the ruins of the temple in which the body was found. The date of the transference of the Bishopric of Iria to Compostella by Pope Leo III. seems to be 798;<sup>1</sup> and there must have been time for the story of the Invention, the gift of Alfonso, and the building of the earliest church at Compostella to have reached Rome and to have been in some way inquired into. The words of Alfonso the Chaste, "recens revelati," "revelatum est in nostro tempore,"<sup>2</sup> imply a period anterior to the date of the document. De Tillemont expressly says of this hypothesis that it has no evidence, "c'est une conjecture sans preuve."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, how could Petrus Rathensis have been called first Bishop of Braga, and Athanasius and Theodore first Bishops of Saragossa about or shortly after 714, when both Saragossa and Braga were in the hands of the Saracens? Mariana, speaking of the transference of

<sup>1</sup> *Chronici Rerum Memorabilium Hispaniæ*; autore, Joanne Vaseo, p. 122, Salmanticæ, 1552.

<sup>2</sup> *España Sagrada*, t. xix. p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit supra*

the Archbishopric of Braga to Compostella, says that "the former was not prejudiced in any manner ; since Braga was uninhabited at that time, for the Moors had destroyed it."<sup>1</sup>

Either the whole story must be relegated to the domains of baseless fable, or we must admit as facts, more or less exactly stated, that, anterior to the Arab invasion, there was a belief (whether right or wrong) in the Western Church that St. James the Greater had in his lifetime preached in Spain. But we find *then* no mention of the translation of his body there by miracle or otherwise. This later belief arose in the eighth century. It is within the range of credibility that on Mount Ilicinus, shortly before, or in the reign of Alfonso the Chaste, in the substructions of the ruins of a heathen temple, three sarcophagi were found, containing the skeletons of three bodies ; and to these bones became attached the names of St. James the Greater, and of his supposed disciples, Athanasius and Theodore. That over these skeletons a church with mud walls was built ; that this church was enlarged at successive periods, till it became the cathedral of Compostella, and that the high altar was constructed over these relics by Diego Gelmirez, 1134. We may grant that at the panic caused by Drake's attack on Corunna in 1589, the relics were taken from the sarcophagi and crypt, and hidden elsewhere, and were re-discovered by the present cardinal, M. Paya y Rico, Archbishop of Compostella, in January, 1879 ; and that these skeletons are now declared by a decree of the

<sup>1</sup> Mariana, lib. vii. c. 10, p. 303.



Sacred Congregation of Rites to be those of the bodies of St. James the Greater, and of Athanasius and Theodore. All this is not incredible were the evidence only sufficient.

The decree of the Congregation of Sacred Rites does not say a word about the preaching of St. James in Spain—though the Breviary does—it does not distinctly say at what time the bodies were brought there, except that it was before the time of the Arabic occupation; it declares only the identity of the skeletons lately discovered in the apse of the cathedral of Compostella with those of the Apostle and of his companions.

We will conclude with a short account of the *pièces de conviction*, as the French say, on the evidence of which the present decree is founded. Whatever other results may have been attained, the investigation has brought to light rich archæological treasure. The Cardinal Archbishop summoned to his aid two of the most learned archæologists and linguists of Spain, in order to examine the documents and archives of the cathedral to see if they could throw any light upon the deposition of the relics. Few books of archæological research are of greater interest than that in which Padre F. Fita, S.J., and Don Aureliano Fernandez-Guerra have told the story of their investigation.<sup>1</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> In this book, besides numerous inedited Latin inscriptions, and rectifications of others, a full account was first given of the *Codex Calixtinus*, which had before been but imperfectly known by copies in the collection of Baluze, etc., in the National Library in Paris. P. Fita discovered there in book iv., the earliest known Basque Vocabulary (he subsequently printed the whole book, which contains the Itineraries of Santiago, in the *Revue de Linguistique*, January and July,

the *Recuerdos de un Viaje a Santiago de Galicia* (Madrid, 1880), to which we have so frequently referred. A copy of this work, which contains the attestations of three Professors of Pharmacy and of Medicine in the University of Compostella as to the condition and character of the bones found, together with some information furnished by Monseigneur Sans y Fores, Archbishop of Valladolid, was transmitted to Rome. The question was put before the Congregation of Sacred Rites on the 20th of May, 1884; but the decision was then adjourned for clearer evidence on some points. To obtain this, R. P. D. Monseigneur Caprera, Promoter of the Faith, went to Compostella, and summoned there before him the Archbishop of Valladolid, R. P. F. Fita, and Señor Fernandez-Guerra. Monseigneur Caprera had examined, and brought with him the report on the relic of the skull of St. James, given by the Archbishop Diego Gelmirez to St. Adon, Archbishop of Pistoja, in the twelfth century. A comparison of this skull, which bears marks showing that it belonged to a decapitated head, with the relics still at Compostella, brought conviction to Monseigneur and his assessors;<sup>1</sup> and it was through his report

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1882), and he has also recovered both words and music of the Pilgrim's Hymn of Northern France of the twelfth century; and it has again been sung this year and last in the Cathedral of Compostella on the Feast of the Apostle. The same Codex contains one of the earliest forms of the great Carolingian legend. There is discussion as to the exact date of the MS. between MM. Dozy, Delisle, and P. Fita, but it seems to represent a text of Sæc. XII.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to reconcile this with the previous scientific examination of the bones at Compostella, and which recog-

that on the 19th of July the Congregation of Sacred Rites answered affirmatively to the question whether these were really the bones of the Apostle and his disciples. In the words of the decree, "Tum Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi Patres Cardinales, tum Prælati Officiales, re mature discussa et perpensa responderunt: *Affirmative, seu sententiam esse confirmandam.*"

The facts are simply these. In January, 1879, on occasion of repairs and restoration in the Cathedral of Compostella, the Cardinal-Archbishop caused careful search to be made under the high altar for the relics of St. James and his two disciples. The crypt and substruction made by Gelmirez in the twelfth century, succeeding the earlier of Sæc. IX., were found; but they had evidently been disturbed, and the chambers were partly filled with earth.<sup>1</sup> This confirmed a dim tradition among the chapter that the relics had been removed and concealed at the time of Drake's attack. On further search being made under the pavement of the apse behind the high altar (*i. e.* in the *tras-sagrario*), in the centre was found a stone niche or chest formed of rough slabs, and measuring thirty-nine inches in length, by thirteen inches broad, and twelve deep,<sup>2</sup> containing human bones, but so confused and broken that not a single bone remained whole or complete.<sup>3</sup> Those which

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nized there parts of three heads already; cf. *Recuerdos*, p. 110. We have, however, before us the printed testimony only.

<sup>1</sup> See, for plans and illustrations, *Recuerdos*, pp. 70, 71.

<sup>2</sup> See a sketch of it, *Recuerdos*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> "En ella han hallado huesos humanos, colocados sin orden

admitted of classification were declared to belong to three skeletons, two of which were of men of between the second and third period of human life, the other belonged to the third period ; the date of these skeletons it was impossible to determine, but by comparison with other skulls of known antiquity they seemed to be many centuries old ; "consequently, as far as their antiquity is concerned, the belief does not appear to be rash that the said bones may have belonged to the bodies of the Holy Apostle, and of his two disciples." <sup>1</sup> Such was the conclusion of the scientific commission.

Now what does this add to the previous evidence? Taking for granted that these are the bones hidden in the time of Drake (of which there is no proof, only probability), and that these were the bones interred in the sepulchral crypt by Gelmirez in Sæc. XII., and that these were those said to be found in the substructions of a ruined heathen temple in the time of Theodomir, Bishop of Iria, in the eighth century, I do not say what proof, but what reasonable evidence is there that these were the bones of St. James the Greater, and of two otherwise wholly unknown men, his so-called disciples, Athanasius and Theodore, the very form of whose names shows that they cannot be of apostolic times? I do not throw the slightest doubt on the good faith of the professors at Compostella, or of the Archbishop of Valladolid, or

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y mezclados con alguna tierra, desprovistos de cartilagos y partes blandas, y tan deteriorados y frágiles, que no existia un solo hueso entero ni completo."--Report of the Examiners, *Recuerdos*, p. 109.

<sup>1</sup> *Recuerdos*, p. 111.

of R. P. Fita and S. Fernandez-Guerra ; the competency of these two last in archæological questions none who know their work will deny ;—but is the difficulty removed which evidently struck Mariana, nearly three centuries ago, when he wrote, “ The reasons which persuaded them that that was the sepulchre, and that the body of the Apostle are not related ; but there is no doubt that so great a thing was not received without sufficient proofs ” ?<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, he declares that there is no anterior notice of this sepulchre, and none has been brought forward since his time. That, in a district crowded with remains of antiquity, sarcophagi and skeletons were found on this spot in the time of Alfonso the Chaste seems not improbable, though the evidence for it will seem to some hardly sufficient for conviction ; but that these bodies found in a heathen temple were Christian and not heathen, still less that they were those of the Apostle and his unknown disciples, is utterly without proof. Seven centuries had elapsed since the martyrdom of the Apostle. There is no anterior mention or tradition of such a burial to be found ; and there thus appears, as far as is stated,

<sup>1</sup> Mariana, lib. vii. c. 10, p. 303, “ Las razones con que se persuadieron ser aquel sepulcro y aquel cuerpo el del sagrado Apostol, no se refieren ; pero no hay duda sino que cosa tan grande no se recibió sin pruebas bastantes.” Mgr. Duchesne remarks on this : “ Aucun renseignement n'est donné sur les circonstances du fait, sur les signes auxquels on a reconnu l'identité du corps saint, sur les motifs qui ont déterminé les recherches. Le corps de saint Jacques a été ‘révélé’ ; voila tout ce que nous trouvons dans ces vieilles chartes et dans celles qui leur font suite jusqu'à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> Siècle.”—P. 20 and cf. p. 34.

no more reason for affixing such names to these bodies than there would be for affixing them to any skeletons found in heathen ruins by an archæologist at the present day. The hypothesis of De Tillemont and of Gams, which cuts out the landing at Iria from the legend, seems wholly untenable, both on other grounds, and because if so integral a part is rejected, what evidence can there be for the rest ?

We may perhaps be pardoned for putting the questions, What claim have the statements in the Breviary, and what claim has the present decree, on the belief of Roman Catholics ? In a dispute with the Carmelites in the middle of the last century as to their succession from the prophet Elias, Antonio Beltran, Procurador-General of the Province of Toledo, of the Company of the Jesuits, lays it down : "The Inquisition deserves no rebuke, because on such grounds it maintains the contrary to that which the Breviary proposes to us in some of its lections, *because not everything that is in it is of Faith* (porque no todo lo que en el esta es de Fé)." And, among other examples, he says, "In the same way it is permitted to dispute some points about St. Dionysius, Patron of Paris, *of the coming of Santiago to Spain*, and others similar."<sup>1</sup>

The late Marquis of Bute, in his article on the Breviary in Chambers's Encyclopædia (1888), says : "A notion sometimes obtains among Protestants that Roman Catholics are obliged to believe these biographies. This is wholly baseless. No such idea

<sup>1</sup> Printed Memorial to Ferdinand VI., penes me, p. 9.

exists even as a superstition." But it is not the Breviary only that asserts the authenticity of these relics of St. James and his two disciples. Their authenticity is declared by a decree of the Sacred Council of Rites, July 25, 1884. This again is confirmed by the Apostolical Letter of Leo XIII., the Kalends of November 1884,<sup>1</sup> in which he writes of this discovery, and others of the bodies of the Saints, as "heavenly gifts, blessings and graces of which we have most need." "Thus in the course of this our century, in which the power of darkness has declared war against the Lord and His Christ, have been happily discovered, by divine permission, the sacred remains of St. Francis of Assisi, of Ste. Clara, the Virgin Law-giver, of St. Ambrose, Pontiff and Doctor, of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, of the Apostles, St. Philip and St. James, and to this number must be added that of the Apostle St. James the Greater, and his disciples Athanasius and Theodore, whose bodies have again been found in the Cathedral of the city of Compostella." Then it proceeds: "A constant and *universal tradition, which dates from Apostolic times*, confirmed by public letters of our predecessors, relates, etc., etc."<sup>2</sup> With this may be

<sup>1</sup> Mgr. Duchesne mentions these decrees and decisions only in a note at the end of his treatise: "Les décisions de ces autorités (l'archevêque de Compostelle et la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites) ont été ratifiées et proclamées dans la bulle *Deus omnipotens*, du 1<sup>er</sup> novembre, 1884."

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bernard O'Reilly, alluding to this Bull as one of the remarkable acts in the life of Pope Leo XIII., writes: "After founding many Churches throughout the Peninsula, James returned to Jerusalem with alms for the afflicted Christians of Palestine, among whom famine prevailed. Then was held

compared the Brief of January 29, 1894, granting indulgences for the sixth centenary of the Translation of the Holy House of Loretto.

In all Churches, in every form of Christianity, there will always be some difference between the intellectual appreciation of the same facts, by the learned and the unlearned, by the babes and by the full-grown in Christ; a difference fully recognized by our Lord and His apostles. We are not to cause the little ones to offend, our knowledge is not to slay our weaker brethren (1 Cor. viii. 7-11). Yet, allowing this, can it be rightful, for the heads of any Church so authoritatively to declare the literal truth of facts, which the more learned members of their Church have ceased to believe in, which they have thoroughly disproved; and to impress and impose on the unlearned the belief in facts thus disproved, as is done in these decrees and encyclical letters of Pope Leo XIII?

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the Council of Jerusalem, in which James took part." *Life of Leo XIII.*, by Bernard O'Reilly, D.D., LL.D., p. 557 (Sampson Low, 1887).



## II

### MINOR CHRISTIAN LATIN POETS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

WE must not expect from these minor Christian Latin poets of a debased age any really fine verse. Almost the whole of the true and noble poetry of the early Christian Church passed into the Liturgies. Many of the prayers of the Eastern Church, of the so-called Apostolical Constitutions, and, especially, those of the Egyptian Churches, are really magnificent prose-poems. We shall discover nothing at all equal to the *Gloria in Excelsis*, to the *Te Deum*, to the hymns of *Prudentius* (348-405). Our poets belong, unhappily, to an age of superlatively bad taste. All that we can say in their favour is that their poetry is less studied, less full of affectations, tortured into fewer wordy conceits,

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (vol. xvi.). *Poetæ Christiani Minores* (Pars I.). Vindobonæ. (F. Tempsky, 1888.)

*Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, accurante J. P. Migne.* Tomus xix. (Parisiis, 1846.)

The biography of most of these poets is uncertain, and the dates given are those determined by some allusion as most probable. They must be taken as equivalent only to the old *floruit*.

less disfigured by tawdry patches, than is the prose of many writers of that age. It often sins against the laws of ancient metre, and it has not yet attained to the free exercise of the new and perhaps nobler laws of rhythm and of rhyme which the despised barbarians were unconsciously building up out of the ruins of ancient classical prosody. We hear in them only the first lisplings, the tentative efforts, which will hereafter swell into the trumpet tones of the 'Dies Iræ;' which will sound the knell of all earthly things in the plaintive wail of Notker's Funeral Hymn; which will tell of the yearnings of the saints for their heavenly home in the Jerusalem hymns, and melt all hearts to grief in the 'Stabat Mater dolorosa,' which, in the 'Jesu, dulcis memoria' of St. Bernard,<sup>1</sup> will give expression to well-nigh all that the Name of Jesus tells to those who really love Him. I have no such jewels to offer to my readers now. I can set before them no such dainties. It is a homely feast to which I would invite them;—to an examination of curiosities only, not of priceless gems.

The poets of whom I write lived at the close of the fourth, or during the fifth century. They all belonged to the upper classes of society. They were among the last members of a caste of Provincial Roman nobility which was destined shortly to give way to the ruder barbarian, and later feudal nobility which rose upon its ruins. Almost

<sup>1</sup> According to Dom Guéranger, incontestable MSS. assign this hymn, long attributed to St. Bernard, to a pious Benedictine abbess, who lived in the fourteenth century. *L'Année Liturgique. Le Temps de Noël*, vol. ii. p. 324, 325 (Oudin, Paris, 1875).

all of them were Gallo-Romans, and chiefly from Southern Gaul. As I hinted above, they had not yet wholly emancipated themselves from the influence of classical heathen poetry. The spell of the mighty magician, Virgil, was still upon them. Just as the influence of Plato moulds the thoughts of the Alexandrian Church, and as that of Aristotle reigned supreme in the Middle Ages, so Virgil's rich poetry overpowered, with its mighty music, the feeble strains of those who had unlearned their native tongue, to speak, fluently enough, but never quite as natives, the accents of Rome. Many a long piece, both pagan and Christian, in this and the succeeding ages, is a cento of Virgil's writings ; —a mosaic, laboriously constructed, in which the whole vocabulary of the poem, every turn and phrase, even whole lines, are transferred bodily from the works of Virgil. Strange was the lot of the great master then ! He was the purest of all the Latin poets. Yet the dying pagan muse, turned harlot in her dotage, used him to build centos of filth and dull indecency, from which he in his own age turned aside with dignified disdain. He was the most religious of all the poets of ancient Rome ; he really believed in her ancient gods, and in the might of the Eternal City ; and now he was forced to sing the praises of an obscure Provincial, whom a Roman governor had crucified in a distant land, but who was now reigning, from the Tree,<sup>1</sup> supreme above all earthly kings and Cæsars. This was the use to which the great poets of ancient Rome were

<sup>1</sup> A *varia lectio* of the Septuagint Version. Psalm xcvi. (our xcvi.) 10.

put in the twilight and midnight ages, between the sunset of classical, and the dawn of modern verse.

The first poet whom we notice is Paulinus Petricordius, Paulinus of Perigueux, who, about the year 470, wrote a poetical life of St. Martin of Tours, versified mostly from the earlier prose work of Sulpicius Severus, a disciple of St. Martin. Paulinus, on his part, had travelled to Tours, and made acquaintance with its bishop, Perpetuus. He may also have spoken with some old people who had personally known the saint. In his poems he succeeds much better in homely themes than in higher flights. His descriptions of the scenery through which he passed are true to nature. The furniture and the feastings in the halls of the Gallo-Roman nobles, the savageness of their house-dogs, the accidents of travel are well depicted in a kind of pedestrian verse. He is a firm believer in the supernatural power of the saint whose life he records. He invokes St. Martin for inspiration in place of Phœbus, and the Muses:—

“Mayest thou, O Martin, worshipper of Christ inspire us, we pray thee,  
Who seek both words and sense from Christ.”<sup>1</sup>

He attributes miraculous agency to events which are perfectly explicable by natural causes. If we cannot absolve him from the charges of credulity and superstition, yet his writings are free from many a false doctrine and exaggeration which

<sup>1</sup> “*Nos, quibus a Christo sensus vel uerba petuntur,  
Christicola inspires paulum Martine, precamur.*”

Lib. i. 305-6.

have gathered round the faith in later times. It is twilight only ;—we are not yet in the dark ages. The most valuable portions of his poem are the lines which tell of himself, or of the abject terror of the citizens at the vengeful visits of the Roman generals, or emperors, whose party might be momentarily victorious in civil strife. Fines and exactions, slavery or exile, executions and tortures are inflicted almost as a matter of course on those of the beaten party. And here we see the value of a man like St. Martin. It was the attitude of the Church, and especially of the bishops :—

*“ Quâ post degeneres per sæcula multa pavores,  
Corrupto emicuit libertas perdita mundo.”*<sup>1</sup>

The duty of every priest in those times was, we are told, “ to preserve and feed the poor people of God, to be the defenders of those unjustly accused, to release prisoners, to give rest to weary souls, to comfort the sorrowful, to beg return for exiles, to sue for remission of fines for the proscribed, and to entreat for the life of the condemned.”<sup>2</sup> But in the case of the lowly priest these good offices brought great dangers with them. They had “ to flatter the great, they sat as parasites at his table, they

<sup>1</sup> “ By which, after cringing fear through many an age,  
Lost Liberty shone forth over a corrupt world.”

<sup>2</sup> *“ Hunc igitur regem diuersa ex parte frequentes  
pastores adiere Dei, quis cura perennis  
uel seruare piam domini uel pascere plebem,  
certantes laxare reos, dissoluere uinctos,  
reddere defessis requiem, solacia mæstis,  
orare exulibus patriam ueniamque precari,  
proscriptis censum miseris uitamque mereri.”*

Lib. iii. 19-25.

attended him as his clients, they were elated by a smile, or cast down by a frown of the tyrant.”<sup>1</sup> From all this the bishop and saint was free. He was the only one who dared to beard the ruthless tyrant; the only man who, through his position, and through belief in his personal sanctity, and in the miraculous powers wherewith his sanctity endowed him, could plead for, nay, exact amnesty and forgiveness for, the friends of the fallen. His office he claimed to be higher than that of any of the kings of earth. When Maximus, the emperor, visited Tours, and St. Martin sat by him at a great banquet, where all the magnificent works of art in plate and tapestry, still unspoiled by the barbarians, were displayed,<sup>2</sup> then, when the grace cup was handed to St. Martin first, he passed it on, to the surprise of all, not to the emperor who awaited it, but to the priest who accompanied him, and thus “*prælatæ cessit diadema fidei*” (the diadem yielded

<sup>1</sup> “*dumque hæc nituntur studio celerare benigno paulatim adsensu trepido subjecta tumentî sancta patrum grauitas nimium uilescece coepit, dedita blanditiis, non quas dependere suerat prisca sacerdotum grauitas, sed foeda clientum ambitio, ad nutum tumidi dejecta patroni.*”

Lib. iii. 26-31.

<sup>2</sup> “*cuncta nitent uario cultu sursum atque deorsum edita pigmentis, sola marmore, tecta metallis. sustentant uitreas crystalla capacia lymphas, cumque ipsa et conchæ species uideatur et undæ nec cohibere putes susceptum claustra liquorem. pocula funduntur gemmis gemmisque bibuntur, electri molis fuluum discriminat aurum. ars erat in pretio, pretium pretiosius arte est.*”

Lib. iii. 97-104

in precedence to the Faith).<sup>1</sup> "Who," exclaims the poet, "ever heard of such daring in a priest, even towards an ordinary judge?"<sup>2</sup> So, later on, he dared to force his way at midnight to the presence of Valentinian, "savage above all,"<sup>3</sup> and to plead for the lives of those whose execution had been ordered for the morrow. He brought both emperor and empress to his feet, and the latter is pictured as listening to him and serving him at table, "as the Queen of Sheba listened to, and waited upon King Solomon."<sup>4</sup> What must have been the value of such a man in such an age!

If we turn from the subject of the poem to the poet himself, we have the portrait of a simple-hearted, credulous, kind, but somewhat timid man. He is in mortal terror of the big dogs which guarded the houses of the nobles—" *diri violentia sæva Molossi*" (the savage violence of the dreadful mastiff); " *rugatas detrahens oris de tegmine nares*" (drawing back his wrinkled nostrils from his uncovered gums); " *nudatos crebro conlidens mur-*

<sup>1</sup> " *prælatæ cessit diadema fidei.  
attonitis stupuere animis defixa videntum  
corda virum* . . . . .

<sup>2</sup> " *quisnam vel magnus quamvis sub iudice paruo  
auderet tantum pro sancto jure sacerdos?*"

Lib. iii. 124-126, 129, 130.

<sup>3</sup> " *sed mage trux reliquis uitio tumoris et iræ  
terribilis solium Valentinianus agebat.*"

Lib. iv. 296-7.

<sup>4</sup> " *æquasti merito tantæ, regina, fidei  
illam, quæ similis solii sublimis honore  
uenit ab extremis Salomonem agnoscere terris.*"

Lib. iv. 391-393.

*mure dentes*" (grinding his bared teeth with continued growl).<sup>1</sup> But he has a true love for nature; he delights "in the grass waving before the summer breeze, enamelled with flowers of every hue like jewels inserted among it,"<sup>2</sup> and he describes at length his favourite wild flowers. So tender of heart is he that he cannot bear that any created thing should be beyond the reach of God's mercy. He is sure that even the devil would be saved, if he would only repent:—"If thou couldst but mourn even now so late over the crimes that thou hast done, mercy would snatch thee from the midst of the flames."<sup>3</sup> The whole passage is instructive, when compared with the harsher teaching of later theology. "Christ's will," he says, "is that the limit of the punishment should be the limit of the harm done, and that He will at last destroy the hated tree of evil by the extirpation of its root."<sup>4</sup> Monastic life, as then practised, is pleasant, and not at all irksome to him. He dwells especially

<sup>1</sup> Lib. v. 241-244.

<sup>2</sup> "*undabant tenui uiridantia gramina flatu  
impulsasque leuis motabat spiritus herbas.  
insuper innumeri per plana jacentia flores  
distincta insertis pingebant æquora gemmis.*"

Lib. iv. 556-559.

<sup>3</sup> "*si commissa diu saltim uel sero doleres,  
quod te de mediis raperet clementia flammis.*"

Lib. iii. 253-4.

<sup>4</sup> "*non hæc de miseris domini sententia Christi est,  
qui, si finire culpam uidet, abicit iram,  
tempora non statuens pænæ nisi tempore noxæ*

*peccatum a fomite tollens  
et stirpem exosam prima ab radice recidens.*"

Lib. iii. 239-241, 258-9.



on the delights of copying, where mind, and eyes, and hand, are all employed ; "the letters employ the sight, the sense fills the heart, and the right hand follows the line."<sup>1</sup> We may lament his over-zeal, and that of St. Martin, in the destruction of ancient monuments consecrated to idolatry, and especially of the wondrous dome at Amboise ;<sup>2</sup> but we take leave of him as of a kindly, simple-hearted man, whose faith and outlook on nature were not far different from those of a little child.

The verses of our next poet, Orientius (406-450), have been edited by an Oxford scholar, Mr. Robinson Ellis.<sup>3</sup> His chief work, a 'Commonitorium,' or 'Exhortation' belongs to the class of didactic poetry of which our ancestors were so fond, but which now-a-days seems so tedious to us. His most valuable lines are those, in his second book, in which he describes the invasion of the barbarians into Gaul, A.D. 406. "Neither densest forests, nor mountain summits, nor wide rivers, nor fortified camps, nor walled cities, nor the trackless sea, nor the waste desert, nor rocks, nor caverns availed to shelter any from the arms of the invaders. Neither submission, nor apostasy, nor perjury, nor treason, were of any service ; but the mother was slain

<sup>1</sup> "*exercere artem prohibet. conceditur unum scribendi studium, quod mentem oculosque occupet atque uno teneat simul omnia puncto, aspectum uisu, cor sensibus, ordine dextram.*"

Lib. ii. 120-123.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. v. 534-544.

<sup>3</sup> M. le chanoine R. P. Lahargou has some very interesting articles on Orientius, entitled : *Saint Orient, Étude historique et littéraire*, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Borda, de Dax*, deuxième, troisième et quatrième trimestre, Dax, 1901.

with her children, and the master went into slavery with his slaves. Then there was no burial for the dead, and every building was given to the flames; then misery, death, destruction, and sorrow were everywhere, and all Gaul was smoking as if one great funeral pyre.”<sup>1</sup> One might have expected that writers in such an age, that men who had witnessed such horrors, would have been filled with melancholy, and that the gloomiest pessimism would have coloured their lives. The contrary however, is the case. Orientius’ view of nature is well-nigh as cheerful as that of Chaucer. He never dreams of asking whether life is worth living. All is good and beautiful, and all is made for man. “He who gave thee life gives all the comforts of life, that it may be full for thee of all delight. The heaven hangs high for thee, for thee the earth

<sup>1</sup> “*respice quam raptim totum mors presserit orbem  
quantos uis belli perculerit populos.  
non densi nemoris, celsi non aspera montis,  
flumina non rapidis fortia gurgitibus,  
non castella locis, non tutæ mœnibus urbes,  
invia non pelago, tristia non heremo,  
non caua, non etiam tetricis sub rupibus antra,  
ludere barbaricas præualuere manus.  
multis ficta fides, multis perjuria, multis  
causa fuit mortis ciuica proditio.  
insidiæ multum multum uis publica fecit.  
robore quæ non sunt, sunt superata fame.  
concidit infelix cum prole et conjuge mater,  
cum seruis dominus seruitium subiit.  
hi canibus iacuerere cibus, flagrantia multis  
quæ rapuere animam tecta dedere rogam.  
per uicos uillas, per rura et compita et omnes  
per pagos, totis inde uel inde uis,  
mors, dolor, excidium (strages) incendia luctus  
uno fumauit Gallia tota rogo.*”

‘Commonitorii,’ Lib. ii. 165-184.

lies low, the air quivers, and breezes sigh, and ocean flows for thee. . . . The sun and moon and stars, the seasons, harvests and fruits, beasts and birds, herbs and flowers, all were made for man, and for his enjoyment.”<sup>1</sup> How far are we from the shallow scepticism of Pope, in his ‘Essay on Man’ :—

“While man exclaims, ‘See all things for my use!’  
‘See man for mine!’ exclaims the pampered goose.”

How far even from Tennyson’s “Nature red with tooth and claw!” Yet compare the slavery, the

<sup>1</sup> “*qui tribuit uitam, largitur commoda uita  
omnibus ut tibi sit prædita deliciis.  
ecce tibi cælum pendet, tibi terra recedit,  
æra librantur, fluctuat oceanus :  
noctes atque dies succedunt mensibus anni,  
sol splendet, lucent sidera, luna rubet.  
uer fundit blandos uario sub germine flores,  
æstas jam grauida fructibus arua coquit,  
autumnus musto madidus, præpinguis oliva est,  
ignibus admotis frigora nescit hiemps.*

*denique per totum qui circumuoluitur annum,  
quidquid habes, totum dat tibi cura Dei.”*

Lib. i. 111-120, 129-130.

Verses like these, from the love of nature which they evince, lend colour to the tradition that the Orientius, Archbishop of Auch, who wrote this poem, is the same person as St. Orens, who, for a while had his hermitage retreat in one of the fairest sites of the Western Pyrenees. The hermitage of St. Orens was placed on a mountain spur, jutting over the gorge of the mountain torrent, Issabit. Stretched out far below, is the lovely valley of Argelez ; and across the valley, at nearly equal elevation on the opposite hills, is the monastery of St. Savin, where, in a noble pile of ruined Roman buildings, St. Orens’ friend, St. Savin, had chosen his abode. On the site of the hermitage, in the thirteenth century, was built the Chapel of St. Orens, the purest specimen of Gothic architecture in the whole district, as the writer once saw it. Now, alas ! it is an utter ruin.

cruelty, the misery, the barbarism of the fifth century, with the freedom, the humanity, and the culture of the nineteenth! And we ask, in morbid scepticism, "Is life worth living?"! We question, in laboured ethical treatises, the sanctions and foundations of morality! Orientius, like Carlyle, boldly says:—

*"Indice non opus est, doctor nec quæritur ullus :  
De nobis scimus quæ bona quæ mala sunt."*<sup>1</sup>

Lib. i. 205.

One being only is excepted from this cheerful optimism, and that is—woman! "*Prima mali labes heu fœmina! . . . erepti tu causa boni, tu janua mortis!*"—Lib. i. 337–339. And then he recites, in dreary catalogue, all the woes and crimes that she has occasioned to poor innocent man, both in sacred and profane history!

But Orientius has other claims on our attention. In his verse we find the most marked examples of the newer rhythm, in rhyme and in refrain. He does not use alliteration so freely as does Paulinus of Perigueux, but introduces it at times with good effect:—

*"Nam finem noster fines non accipit, et mors  
Qua primum morimur perpetuo moritur."*<sup>2</sup>

Lib. i. 295–6.

In addition to the 'Commonitorium,' some minor pieces are attributed to Orientius. There is one on the names of the Saviour, with an explanation

<sup>1</sup> "No need for guide, no teacher need we seek,  
Ourselves we know what things are good or bad."

<sup>2</sup> "Our end doth know no end, and death  
Wherewith we die at first, for ever dies."

of them ; another, a hymn of praise, in which we hear either the first lisps or the echoes of the 'Te Deum' :—

*"Te domus Israel, confessoresque beati,  
Te patriarchæ omnes, teque Angelus omnis adorant."*  
    'Laudatio,' 159-160.

But his two 'Orationes,' with their refrains, approach most nearly to the modern hymn. The first is to Christ as worshipped by all the powers of heaven and earth and hell, with this refrain :—

*"Et nos imago consonantis cantici,  
Amen sonamus, alleluia dicimus."*—III. 'Orationes.'

Still more curious is the 'Deprecandi canticum,' the hymn of adjuration, to be recited by copyists in the monasteries while busy at their work. It apparently consisted originally of twenty verses, of which six only now remain, the last being evidently imperfect. To the five first the refrain runs :—

*"Anguem magistrum falsitatis increpo,  
Ut non adjiciat neve demat litteram."*<sup>1</sup>—'Oratio,' xxiii.

After the fifth verse, I suspect that our author slipped into pagan witchcraft, or into heresy ; for to three unintelligible lines (60, 61, 62) we have appended one of the usual orthodox doxologies, in place of the above refrain.

The 'Eucharisticos' of Paulinus Pellæus, Paulinus of Pella (414), in Thessaly, has a more serious interest. It is entirely autobiographical, and, though

<sup>1</sup> "I forbid thee, thou serpent, and master of guile,  
With blot or addition my page to defile."

a Thanksgiving in verse, reminds us often of the prose Confessions of St. Augustine. Paulinus has neither the intellectual power, nor the deep spirituality of the Bishop of Hippo. He is a layman, and pictures for us the life of a Gallo-Roman noble of the fifth century, of great wealth and large landed possessions, who moved in literary circles, and was of genuine, if not of the highest, Christianity. If, as seems almost certain, Paulinus was the grandson of Ausonius of Bordeaux, the art of verse-writing was hereditary in his family;<sup>1</sup> but Paulinus never attained his grandsire's skill. He was born at Pella, where his father was Prefect. His mother was a Greek lady, of vast landed property. Soon after he was five years old, he read the doctrines of Socrates (*dogmata Socratis*) and the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' of Homer. Afterwards he began to learn Latin, which he found much more difficult than Greek. In his youth he preferred the Greek poets; in his old age (he writes in his eighty-fourth year) he transferred his affections to the Latins. When he was nine years old, his father was appointed Proconsul of Carthage, where he remained nearly two years. Thence they travelled through Italy to Bordeaux. They visited Rome, but Paulinus tells us that he was still too young for the sight of the Eternal City to make much impression upon him. At Bordeaux he passed a studious boyhood, under his grandfather's care, up to the age of fifteen, when

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Un Type Gallo-Romain. Paulin de Pella, sa vie, son poème*, par Jacques Rocafort (Picard, Paris, 1896). Professor Rocafort regards the question of the relationship of Paulinus to Ausonius as insoluble with our present information, pp. 22, 23.

he was seized with fever, and, on the advice of physicians, books were thrown aside, and he was ordered to live as much as possible in the open air. As a consequence, he became passionately fond of horses and dogs and hunting, and soon afterwards prided himself on his fine equipages, dress, and other surroundings of the 'golden youth' of the day. Though preserved from the worst vices of the age, he fell, for a time, as did St. Augustine. At the wish of his parents, but against his own, at eighteen he married a girl of very noble family, but of no great wealth. The marriage seems to have been good for him, and was by no means an unhappy one. He settled down on one of his estates, built a handsome house, refused all political honours, abstained from official life, and sought only to make his home and estates a model of orderly administration, and of refined and cultivated luxury. He draws a pleasing picture of his life at this period ; his only trouble, for many years, being a quarrel with his brother about the terms of his grandfather's will. But this prosperity was rudely broken up by the invasion of the Goths, in 406, and a year or two later he was forced by the Emperor Attalus to enter official life. At the siege of Bordeaux he fled, with all his family, to Bazas. His house was burnt, his property plundered, and then taken possession of by a Gothic chief. Notwithstanding his own losses, he testifies to the good behaviour of the Goths in other cases, in words which might be equally used of the conduct of the Germans in Northern France, in 1870:—

*"Nam quosdam scimus summâ humanitate Gothorum,  
Hospitibus studuisse suis prodesse tuendis."*<sup>1</sup>

vv. 289-290.

At Bazas he got involved, at no small danger to himself, in the political intrigues which led to the raising of the siege of Bordeaux. His paternal property was lost, and we find him wishing, too late, that he had left France before the invasion, and had retired on his mother's vast estates in Greece and Epirus. These were yet intact, though wastefully administered by agents and bailiffs. But all these troubles and losses led him back to Christ. After thirty-eight years, he received the Eucharist at Easter :—

*"Rite recurrente statuto tempore pascha  
Ad tua, Christe Deus, altaria sacra reversus,  
Te miserante, tua gaudens sacramenta recepi."*

vv. 475-477.

Misfortune, however, still pursues him. He loses in succession his mother-in-law, his mother, and his wife. His children have married, and settled away from him, and he retires in his old age, in comparative poverty, to Marseilles. Absolute penury indeed threatens him, when the Goth who had occupied his property near Bordeaux, offers to purchase it, at a price less indeed than its worth, but sufficient to provide for the necessities of his old age. The poem concludes with lines of gratitude to Christ, who has saved him in so many dangers, recalled him to Himself, whose he confidently

<sup>1</sup> "For we know that some of the Goths, with greatest humanity,  
Were zealous in defending the property of their hosts."



trusts he shall be as long as life lasts, and with Whom he will for ever be when released from the body—whenever, or wherever, that may be. All this, and much more, is set forth, in no very poetical form indeed; but it is certainly not without interest, as showing the life of a country noble of the fifth century in Southern Gaul.

Claudius Marius Victor, a rhetorician of Marseilles (425–450), need not detain us long. In three books he versified the history of Genesis, to the death of Abraham. Of this there are two recensions, one entitled *Alethias*, the other *Claudii Marii Victoris Oratoris Massiliensis, Commentariorum in Genesin Liber*. Three of these are still extant. The *Precatio*, or introductory address to the Deity, is of most interest. At the conclusion of it, he begs for help in composition, and for pardon for all metrical and other errors.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of the second book there is a singular prayer of Adam to be taught the methods of agriculture. The sight of a serpent then arouses his anger, and, at Eve's suggestion, he proceeds to stone it. A flint strikes fire, the woods catch the flame, and thus the use of fire is revealed to man. This is well-nigh the only original part of the long poem. To this is usually appended an 'Epigramma' of one Paulinus,—perhaps a Bishop of Bigorre. He,

<sup>1</sup> " *criminibus cunctis, quæ feci, ignosce benignus;  
et vires sensumque animis meritumque dedisti.  
quod si lege metri quicquam peccauerit ordo,  
peccarit sermo improprius sensusque uacillans—  
incauto passim liceat decurrere uersu—,  
ne fidei hinc ullum subeat mensura periculum  
per Jesum Christum. . . .*"—'Precatio,' 117–123.

with a certain Salmon, visits Thesbon, in a monastery where they had been brought up. The conversation turns on the question of the times, whether men had been made better by the invasion of the barbarians, and by all the calamities and woes which had followed thereupon. The reply is that they were worse than before, yet even their evil might have been curable but for the luxury and debauchery of the women, who "have discarded Paul and Solomon, to sing of Virgil's Dido and Ovid's Corinna. They have made their homes like theatres" (private theatricals? "*Nonne cavis distent penetralia nostra theatris*"), "and the lyrics of Horace, and the plays of Marullus are their delight."<sup>1</sup> But yet the men are not free from blame. Why should unhappy woman bear all the blame, when only a vicious wife can please a *blasé* husband (*stolido marito*)?<sup>2</sup> Still "good men are not rare" (*non rara bonorum turba*),<sup>3</sup> and the Church "brings up many pious sons and daughters."

Our next poem shows us to what use the better sort of these noble provincial ladies turned their studies of Virgil and the heathen classical poets.

<sup>1</sup> "*Paulo et Solomone relicto  
aut Maro cantatur Phænissa aut Naso Corinna.  
nonne cavis distent penetralia nostra theatris?  
accipiunt plausus lyra Flacci et scaena Marulli.*"  
'Epigramma,' 76-79.

<sup>2</sup> "*cur solida infelix damnatur femina culpa  
cum placeat stolido conjunx uitiosa marito?*"  
'Epigramma,' 85-86.

<sup>3</sup> "*Attamen in uestro populo non rara bonorum  
turba uiget multosque pios ecclesia nutrit.*"  
'Epigramma,' 96-97.

Falconia Proba (*circa* 400) was the wife of the Proconsul Adelphius; but her position in the Church will be better appreciated when we mention that she was a correspondent of SS. Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. She laboriously constructed centos, or mosaics, from the writings of Virgil, and told the story of Genesis in the very words of the heathen poet. One of her Eclogues, '*Ad gratiam Domini*,' opens thus: "*Tityre, tu patulæ recubans sub tegmine fagi!*" And this is followed by similarly constructed poems, on such lofty themes as '*De Verbi Incarnatione*,' and '*De Ecclesiâ*.' These, of course, have no more claim to be called poetry than the Ciceronian exercise of an undergraduate on a modern subject has to be called literature.

Of higher merit is the '*Carmen Bucolicum*' of Severus Rhetor (after 386), on 'The Virtue of the Sign of the Cross.' It is a dialogue between three herdsmen, Ægon, Buculus, and Tityrus. The two first lament the loss of all their cattle in the great murrain of A.D. 368. As they aimlessly wander on, their occupation gone, they meet Tityrus, whose herds are perfectly unharmed. They ask him how this is, and he explains that it was by his use of the sign of the Cross:—

*"Hoc signum mediis frontibus additum  
Cunctorum pecudum certa salus fuit."*

He then, in words which an Evangelical might use to-day, invites them to become Christians:—

*"Si tamen hunc Deum  
Exorare velis: credere sufficit,  
Votum sola fides juvat."*

It is needless to say that the poem closes with the happy conversion of Ægon and Buculus.

We now descend to our last and lowest stage, when the Christian muse, in perverted ingenuity, stooped to be the laureate of Constantine the Great. Her servility was punished by the execrable monuments of this, her shame, which she has left behind. Optatianus Porphyrius, Prefect of Rome, 329-333, is the author of twenty-six pieces of verse, which may be best described as acrostics gone mad. Banished by Constantine, he won his pardon by these pieces. He was not the inventor of the style, which came from the East. The germs are found in Hebrew Biblical poetry, especially in the Psalms,—*e.g.* cxix. It flourished especially in the Syrian schools of Edessa, in the fourth century. No western writer has carried it to a greater extent than Porphyrius. Unless aided by the use of different coloured inks it takes some trouble even to make out the designs of some of his more laboured pieces. The whole poem may be in hexameter verse, not quite devoid of meaning; but the acrostic lines are varied, or repeated, in the most intricate fashion. In some, the first line is repeated at the top and bottom, down both sides, and crossing also in the middle; while in each square thus formed another acrostic runs. In others, the symbol of the Labarum is thus used, ✠; in others, various diamond patterns are given. I may subjoin, as a specimen, No. 16. (See next page.)

A somewhat later poet, Venantius Fortunatus (530-600), who also flattered the great of his day, has four such acrostics; but he often employed his

talents to better purpose. His acrostics are deservedly neglected, but some of his hymns are enshrined in the Breviary, and are sung by thousands upon thousands of those who never heard his name,

S	a	n	c	t	e	d	e	c	v	s	m	v	n	d	i	a	C	R	E	r	v	s	m	m	a	s	a	l	v	t	i	s			
l	v	x	p	i	a	t	e	r	r	a	r	v	m	t	e	b	o	O	l	o	P	r	i	n	c	i	p	e	s	a	e	c	l	i	s
i	m	m	e	n	s	v	m	g	a	v	d	e	r	e	b	o	N	i	s	d	A	t	v	r	a	v	r	e	a	v	e	N	i	t	
s	v	m	M	o	m	i	s	s	a	d	e	o	f	v	s	i	S	p	a	t	e	R	a	l	m	e	t	y	r	a	n	n	i	s	
i	v	s	t	I	t	i	a	i	n	t	e	r	r	a	s	e	T	g	l	o	r	i	A	c	a	n	d	i	A	v	e	r	i		
t	e	q	v	e	D	y	c	e	m	a	g	e	g	r	a	t	A	f	i	d	e	s	e	T	i	v	r	a	R	e	n	a	t	a	
t	o	t	a	q	v	E	p	e	r	c	v	l	s	i	s	i	N	g	e	n	t	i	m	O	l	e	t	Y	r	a	n	n	i	s	
a	s	p	e	r	a	v	I	s	p	o	s	i	t	a	e	s	T	b	e	l	l	i	R	e	s	i	T	a	l	a	i	v	r	e	
s	c	e	p	t	r	a	d	A	b	i	t	p	o	p	v	l	I	s	v	o	t	O	p	i	v	S	o	r	b	i	s	e	o	i	
a	v	g	v	s	t	e	i	n	V	i	c	t	a	s	m	v	N	d	i	t	R	a	n	s	I	b	i	s	i	n	o	r	a	s	
t	e	q	v	s	t	e	p	l	e	X	t	o	t	i	s	d	V	c	i	B	v	s	s	T	i	p	a	t	a	s	y	e	n	e	
o	r	a	t	i	v	r	a	c	v	p	I	t	l	v	c	i	S	S	I	b	i	g	A	v	d	i	a	n	o	s	t	r	a	e	
o	p	t	a	t	a	m	a	t	f	a	L	a	x	e	n	P	e	r	f	i	d	a	t	e	l	a	f	v	g	a	r	v	m		
p	a	r	t	h	s	d	e	p	o	s	v	l	t	r	v	I	t	o	r	I	s	v	n	d	i	q	v	e	r	v	b	r	i		
l	i	t	o	r	i	s	a	e	t	h	e	r	i	O	e	n	V	t	v	C	e	r	t	a	m	i	n	e	a	m	o	r	i	s	
m	e	d	v	s	a	r	a	b	s	m	o	x	o	m	N	i	s	o	v	a	t	l	a	v	d	a	r	e	s	e	r	e	n	i	
o	r	i	s	l	v	s	t	r	a	t	u	i	d	a	t	V	E	R	i	s	s	a	n	c	t	e	t	r	o	p	a	e	i	s	
h	a	e	c	m	a	g	e	f	e	l	i	c	e	s	t	i	T	v	l	o	s	v	i	n	c	a	s	v	t	a	m	o	r	e	
a	v	r	e	a	p	e	r	p	e	t	v	o	r	e	s	T	A	V	r	a	n	s	s	a	e	c	v	l	a	m	v	n	d	o	
i	n	d	v	s	e	t	a	v	r	o	r	a	e	m	I	L	E	S	Q	v	o	s	f	l	v	m	i	n	e	n	i	l	v	s	
t	a	n	g	i	t	f	e	c	v	e	n	d	i	s	V	e	n	T	v	r	V	s	f	r	v	g	i	f	e	r	v	n	d	i	s
o	r	a	n	t	e	s	p	i	a	i	v	r	A	p	e	t	E	n	t	g	E	n	s	n	o	b	i	l	i	s	o	r	t	v	
a	e	t	h	i	o	p	e	s	c	v	n	O	t	i	p	a	R	e	n	t	o	P	t	a	t	a	q	v	e	m	v	n	d	i	
t	e	m	p	o	r	a	l	a	e	t	A	d	e	d	i	t	N	o	b	i	s	f	E	l	i	c	i	v	s	a	e	v	m		
e	n	s	v	p	l	i	c	e	s	P	e	r	s	a	e	i	V	r	a	s	i	b	i	R	e	g	i	a	n	o	l	v	n	t	
t	e	d	o	m	i	n	v	m	M	a	l	v	n	t	f	v	S	i	t	v	a	s	e	m	P	e	r	a	d	o	r	a	n	t	
o	r	a	s	v	i	s	c	V	p	i	n	v	n	t	o	t	I	s	t	i	b	i	c	e	d	E	r	e	r	e	g	n	i	s	
t	v	p	i	v	s	e	T	i	v	s	t	i	v	e	r	e	M	e	m	o	r	i	n	c	l	y	T	e	l	a	e	t	i	s	
d	a	r	e	s	p	O	n	s	a	b	o	n	a	s	e	m	P	e	r	m	i	t	i	s	s	i	m	V	s	o	r	b	i	s	
i	m	p	e	r	T	i	r	e	t	v	m	c	l	e	m	E	n	t	e	r	e	t	a	d	i	t	O	n	v	m	e	n	t		
e	t	r	M	a	g	e	f	e	l	i	c	e	s	p	a	R	i	t	e	r	q	v	o	s	a	l	m	e	T	v	e	r	e		
o	r	B	e	s	i	v	n	g	e	p	a	r	e	s	d	e	A	e	s	t	i	d	i	v	o	r	t	i	a	m	V	n	d	i	
p	r	i	n	c	i	p	e	t	e	i	n	p	o	p	v	l	O	s	m	i	t	i	f	e	l	i	c	i	v	s	a	e	V	o	
O	m	n	i	a	l	a	e	t	e	n	t	v	r	f	l	o	R	e	n	t	i	b	v	s	a	v	r	e	a	r	e	b	v	S	

First diagonal from top:—*Summi Dei auxilio nutuque perpetuo tutus.*

Second diagonal from bottom:—*Orbem totum pacavit trucidatis tyrannis.*

Perpendicular from top:—*Constantinus pius et æternus imperator.*

Loop of P:—*Reparator orbis.*

or have read a line of his other verse; the 'Vexilla regis prodeunt,' 'Pange lingua gloriosi,' recomposed by St. Thomas Aquinas, will probably last as long as Latin hymns are sung in the Church of Rome. The following is one of these acrostics, which has

lately been referred to by Dom Fernand Cabrol, *Le Livre de la Prière Antique*, p. 372 and note (Oudin, Paris, 1900).

		S	V	L	A	S	A	S	A	L	V	S																										
				L	A	S	A	T	A	S	A	L																										
					S	A	T	R	T	A	S																											
						T	R	E	R	T																												
E							R	E	C	E	R																											
								E	C	I	C	E																										
									C	I	H	I	C																									
	M									I	H	I	H	I	M																							
	V	I									H	I	M	I	H		C	V																				
	I	G	V									I	M	X	M	I		M	E	C																		
				G	V	F	E	R	I	H	I	M	X	V	X	E	D	O	M	I	N	I	M	E														
					V	F	E	R	I	H	I	M	X	V	R	V	X		D	O	M	I	N	I	M													
						F	E	R	I	H	I	M	X	V	R	C	R	V	X		D	O	M	I	M	I												
							V	F	E	R	I	H	I	M	X	V	R	V	X		D	O	M	I	N	I	M											
							G	V	F	E	R	I	H	I	M	X	V	X	E		D	O	M	I	M	I	M	E	E									
					I	G	V								S	E	X	E	S						M	E	C											
						V	I									T	S	E	S	T						C	V											
							M										Q	T	S	T	Q						M											
																		V	Q	T	Q	V																
																			A	V	Q	V	A															
																				M	A	V	A	M														
																					S	M	A	M	S													
																						E	S	M	S	E												
																							M	E	S	E	M											
																								P	M	E	M	P										
																									E	P	M	P	E									
																									A	R	E	P	E	R	A							
																										O	D	A	R	E	R	A	D	O				
D																												O	R	O	D	A	R	A	D	O	R	O

The reading begins in the middle with the central **C**. Ascending perpendicularly the sentence runs: "Crux mihi certa salus." Descending perpendicularly: "Crux est quam semper adoro." Reading horizontally to either top or bottom of the wings, we have, on the right: "Crux domini mecum"; to the left: "Crux mihi refugium."

*"Sancte decus mundi, ac rerum summa salutis,  
Lux pia terrarum, te solo Principe sæclis  
Immensum gaudere bonis datur. Aurea venit*

*summo missa deo fuis, pater alme, tyrannis  
 justitia in terras, et gloria candida veri;  
 teque Duce, mage grata fides, et jura renata,  
 totaque percussis ingenti mole tyrannis;  
 aspera vis posita est belli res itala jure  
 sceptrum dabit populis, voto pius orbis eoi  
 auguste; invictas mundi transibis in oras.  
 teque suplex totis ducibus stipata Syene  
 orat, jura cupit, lucis sibi gaudia nostræ  
 optat, amat; fallax en perfida tela fugarum  
 Parthus deposuit, ruit oris undique rubri  
 litoris ætheriæ nutu. Certamine amoris,  
 Medus, Arabs, mox omnis ovat laudare sereni  
 oris lustra tui dat veris sancte tropæis,  
 hæc mage felices titulos vincas, ut amore  
 aurea perpetuo restaurans sæcula mundo;  
 Indus, et auroræ miles, quos flumine Nilus  
 tangit secundis venturus frugi ferundis,  
 orantes pia jura petent, gens nobilis ortu,  
 Æthiopes cuncti parent, optataque mundi  
 tempora læta dedit nobis felicius ævum;  
 en suplices Persæ jura sibi regia nolunt,  
 te dominum malunt, fusi tua semper adorant  
 ora, suis cupiunt totis tibi cedere regnis.  
 Tu pius, et juste vere memor, inclyte, lætis  
 da responsa bona semper mitissimus orbis.  
 impertire tuum clementer, et addito numen,  
 sint mage felices pariter quos alme tuere  
 et reparata jugans mæsti divortia mundi,  
 orbes junge, pares det leges Roma volentes,  
 principe te, in populos, miti felicius ævo  
 Omnia latentur florentibus aurea rebus."*

Before closing my short notice, I may perhaps be allowed to refer to the most curious of these ancient *tours de force*—the *Sator arepo* charm—which, dating probably from the days of which I have been speaking, has continued in use even to our own time. It has been found scratched on the walls of a Roman house in Cirencester, and can be traced in France and Germany, all through the Middle Ages. It figures in Greek letters in a MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; it is men-

tioned as an excellent febrifuge in the sixteenth century, and is still used as a cure for snake-bites in Brazil, and for calving cows in Thuringia and elsewhere. It is mentioned by Cardinal Angelo Mai in his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, Tomus v., p. 5 (Romæ, 1831). He takes his description from *Notizie Storiche delle Chiese di Verona raccolte da Giambattista Biancolini* (Tomus iii., p. 72, in Verona, MDCCL), who describes it as existing in the parlour of a monastery there, probably from the fourteenth century; and declares the meaning to be certainly most obscure. The letters run thus:—

S	A	T	O	R
A	R	E	P	O
T	E	N	E	T
O	P	E	R	A
R	O	T	A	S

The Greek scribe of the Paris MS. interprets it thus: ὁ σπείρων ἄροτρον κρατεῖ ἔργα τροχούς; and learned men in modern times have asked what *arepo* could mean. Let my readers peruse the lines alternately from left to right, and right to left, upside down, lying on the side, in whatever position, repeating *tenet*, and they will find that the puzzle is simply the iterated words, "*Sator opera tenet*" (The Lord possesses (His) works). In the logic of witchcraft this formula, said in the usual way, would propitiate the good powers, and when said the reverse way, it would, of course, propitiate the evil. Written and pronounced as above, it cannot but be pleasing to both.



### III

#### EARLY CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS. R.I.P.

##### *Requiescat, or Requiescit in pace.*<sup>1</sup>

THE earliest Christian epitaph is that on the first martyr, St. Stephen—ἐκοιμήθη, "He fell asleep" (Acts vii. 60). This simple phrase has been often engraved on Christian sepulchres, but usually there have been added to it the words *in Domino*, or *in pace*. The use of this latter addition became so common, the words *in pace* so nearly by themselves expressed the idea of calm and peaceful sleep, that the preceding verb came to be habitually omitted, and the great majority of the earliest Christian epitaphs have only the simple words *in pace*, or, in

<sup>1</sup> The chief authorities used in writing this article are—

*Inscriptiones Hispaniæ Christianæ*, edidit Æmilius Hübner, Berolini, apud Georgium Reimerum. (MDCCCLXXI.)

*Nouveau Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, par Edmond le Blant, Membre de l'Institut. Imprimerie Nationale. (Paris, MDCCCXCII.)

*Manuel d'Épigraphie Chrétienne, d'après les marbres de la Gaule*, par Edmond le Blant. (Didier, Paris, 1869.)

*Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, par M. l'Abbé Martigny. 3<sup>e</sup> edit. (Hachette, Paris, 1889.)

*Dictionnaire d'Épigraphie*, publié par M. l'Abbé Migne. 2 vols. (Paris, 1852.)

*A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, by W. Smith and W. Cheetham. 2 vols. (J. Murray, 1875.)

*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. 38 vols. (Fortanet, Madrid, 1877-1901.)

Greek, ἐν εἰρήνῃ, without any verb attached. This use of the words *in pace* is considered by archæologists as indubitable proof of Christian sepulture, it being unknown on Pagan tombs. But the phrase, or its equivalent, had been used by the Jews before the time of our Lord, and was adopted by Christians, following the example of their Lord, who raised and consecrated the words to a higher signification when He said, "Peace be unto you," "My peace I give unto you."

If we inquire what was the meaning of this phrase *in pace* on the tombs of the early Christians, following the Abbé Martigny<sup>1</sup> and others, we find that it was used (1) sometimes as a prayer for the dead ; (2) sometimes as an affirmation or acclamation of their happiness ; (3) sometimes as a testimony of the orthodoxy of their faith.

In the following remarks only (1) and (2) will be dealt with, and we shall try to ascertain which is the more common form in the earliest ages of Christianity. It is evident that, within the limits of a magazine article, the investigation can only be imperfect—it cannot be complete : it suffices if it be only fair and impartial. There are some writers of the Roman Catholic Church who decide the question at once by supplying everywhere *requiescat*, or *requiescant*, used as a prayer, "may he," or "may they rest in peace."<sup>2</sup> It is almost needless to say that this is not done by the better-informed writers. It is conceded, too, that these

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, par M. l'Abbé Martigny. 3<sup>e</sup> edit. (Hachette, Paris, 1889.)

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionnaire d'Épigraphie Chrétienne*, publié par M. l'Abbé Migne, vol. ii. col. 763. (Paris, 1852).

simpler sepulchral formulæ are not precisely alike in all parts of the Christian world. They express generally the same ideas, but the wording is often slightly different, with a difference which does not seem to touch doctrine at all (at least, not intentionally), but which depends solely on the fact that in the countries of the Western Church the ordinary provincial Latin differed somewhat from the Latin of the capital.

If we inquire, then, what is the verb (if any) to be supplied before the phrase *in pace*, we cannot do better than ascertain first what are the verbs used in the cases where they are supplied. On the earliest Christian tombs, and especially in the Catacombs, symbolism and symbolical pictures are much employed. Thus the signification of the term *in pace* is strengthened by the representation of a dove with an olive-leaf in its mouth, by that of a palm-branch, or by a fish, the Greek name of which forms the anagram *Jesus Christ, of God the Son, the Saviour*. Thus we find *in pace* ἰχθύος, or ἰχθύος εἰρήνη, "in the peace of the fish." It is granted on all hands that on the tombs of martyrs and confessors the words *in pace*, often accompanied with a palm-branch, cannot have a precatory meaning. The Abbé Martigny quotes St. Augustine, Sermon 159: "To pray for a martyr would be an insult to him." We will now collect some of the phrases in which a verb is used with the words *in pace* or *in pacem*. The same forms are used over and over again, and the list, even of the different ones, which could be greatly multiplied, will, we fear, be not a little tedious to the reader. But it is

only by collecting the various epitaphs in which either the affirmative or the precatory (the indicative or the optative) forms are used, that we can come to any opinion on the matter.

(1) Of the simple form *in pace*, the Abbé Martigny remarks: "We believe that it is most generally used as a prayer for the dead," but he puts the evidence to the contrary fairly and fully before us. Mr. Arthur Loth, in the *Revue Anglo-Romaine* (vol. i. p. 247, 1895), in an article entitled *La prière pour les morts dans l'antiquité chrétienne*, writes: "The formula so frequent in Christian inscriptions of the first ages, *Recessit in pace*, or *præcessit in pace*, or simply *in pace*, after the name of the deceased, with this later variation, *in somno pacis*, is an evident allusion to the prayer which accompanied Christian funerals, and by which peace was demanded of God for the deceased. This," he adds, "is the conclusion of M. Edmond le Blant, who expresses himself with reference to the phrase, *Quæ præcessit in pace*, engraved on an epitaph at Trèves, and of another *in somno pacis*: 'Found at the same time in Gaul, in Africa, and in several places of Italy, this double trace of the liturgical formula appears to me to bear witness to the existence of one fixed form of prayer adopted by the whole Christian world in the first ages of the Church.'" The form of prayer would then have been not dissimilar to that of our own Church, if the epitaphs answered to it, for, as we shall see, the Abbé Martigny says: "Nothing can be more affirmative than these formulæ."

The Abbé would supply *requiescas* in all cases

where the vocative of the name is used, but the reason does not seem conclusive. He writes: "Ceci est surtout évident quand il se trouve dans l'építaphe un nom de défunt au vocatif: *Urse in pace* (*Lupi. Sev. Epit.*, p. 56); *Victori in pace*; *Achilles in pace*; *Domiti in pace* (*Buonarr.-Vetri*, p. 164), etc." I presume that he has a reason for taking *Victori* as vocative; perhaps it is from *Victorius*, not *Victor*. Martigny continues: "Ou au datif, cas qui suppose un verbe sous-entendu: *Benemerenti in pace*; *Juliano anime* (*sic*) *innocentissimæ in pace*." 'Thou art' seems as suitable here as 'mayest thou be.' *Pax tecum*, we allow, may be taken always as probably optative or precatory, as it certainly is in *Pax tecum sit*. So, again, there is no doubt in *Suscipiat Christus*, 'may Christ receive him'; *in pace Domini dormias*, 'mayest thou sleep in the Lord'; *in pace Deus tibi refrigerit*, 'may God have refreshed thee in peace.' But the imperatives, *vale in pace*, *dorme* (*sic*) *in pace*, *semper vive in pace*, seem dubious; so also, *in pace anima ipsius cum justis, cum sanctis angelis*, 'her soul is (or, may her soul be) with the righteous and with the holy angels.' There are many cases given by Martigny under (1) which seems to us doubtful, but on the whole it seems clear that a precatory or optative form was used in early ages—in some cases at least, but never in the case of a martyr or confessor.

(2) We now proceed to (2), on which Martigny says: "When the formula *in pace* is constructed with a verb in the present or the past, it is no longer a wish or a prayer, but an affirmation of

the felicity of the deceased—a salutation to a person who is firmly believed to be already in the bosom of God, as the *Dominus tecum* addressed by the angel to the Holy Virgin; it is an acclamation properly so-called, a kind of formula of apotheosis.”<sup>1</sup> He does not doubt that the simple *in pace* often thus denotes the tomb of a martyr.

Examples given of the indicative use of the verb are very numerous; we select the following as specimens frequently repeated:

<i>Dormit in pace</i>	. . .	He sleeps in peace.
<i>In pace bene dormit</i>	. . .	He sleeps well in peace.
<i>Dormit in somno pacis</i>	. . .	He sleeps in the sleep of peace.
<i>In pace somni</i>	. . .	In the peace of sleep.
<i>Pausat in pace</i>	. . .	He dwells in peace.
<i>In pace requievit</i>	. . .	He has rested in peace.
<i>Quiescit in pace eterna</i>	. . .	He rests in eternal peace.
<i>Requiescit in pace</i>	. . .	He rests in peace.
<i>Quiescens in pace</i>	. . .	Resting in peace.
<i>ἰχθῶς εἰρήνῃ</i>	. . .	In the peace of the fish.
<i>In pace et in domo eterna Dei</i>		In peace and in the eternal home of God.
<i>Raptus eterne (sic) domus</i>		Taken up (into the peace) of eternal home.
<i>Eterna pace ovans</i>	. . .	Triumphing in eternal peace.

Nothing, as the Abbé Martigny says, can be more affirmative than these formulæ.<sup>2</sup> So:

<i>Redit in pace</i>	. . .	He returns in peace.
<i>Precessit nos in pace</i>	. . .	He has gone before us in peace.
<i>Decessit in pace</i>	. . .	He departed in peace.
<i>Recessit in pace</i>	. . .	He withdrew in peace.
<i>Susceptus</i> or <i>receptus</i> in <i>pace</i> .		Taken or received in peace.
<i>Petitus</i> or <i>accercitus</i> in <i>pace</i> , sometimes with the addition “ <i>ab angelis</i> .”		Sought for, or sent for in peace, sometimes with the addition, “by the angels.”

<sup>1</sup> p. 355, col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Rien de plus affirmatif que ces formules,” p. 355, col. 2.

<i>Natus in pace . . .</i>	Born in peace ; reminding us of the <i>natalitia</i> , the birth-days, the anniversaries of a martyr's death.
<i>In pace Christi recepta .</i>	Received in the peace of Christ.
<i>Quem Dominus suscepit in pace</i>	Whom the Lord has received in peace.
<i>Lætari in pace . . .</i>	Thou dost joy in peace.
<i>In pace delictum . . .</i>	In the peace of delights.
<i>Exuperantia in pace pete pro nobis felix</i>	Exuperantia in peace, happy one, ask for us.

Other examples of the affirmative may be gathered from the article *Inscriptions*, on pp. 370, 371, 373, when he speaks of a series of later inscriptions which begin : *Hic requiescit in pace*.

The two earliest epitaphs of abbesses have each this formula ; one in the church of Saint Agnes extra muros, A.D. 514.

“† Hic requiescit in pace  
Serena Abbatissa. S.V.  
Quæ vixit annos PM LXXXV  
dep VII Id Mai. Senatore.  
VC. cons.”

The other at Capua in 569 : “Hic requiescit in somno pacis Justina, Abbatissa, fundatrix.”

So far the Abbé Martigny. If we turn to the corresponding English work, *The Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, by Dr. William Smith and Professor Cheetham,<sup>1</sup> we find under the title “Inscriptions,” vol. i. p. 854, corroboration of these facts. The writers make use chiefly of Le Blant's *Manuel d'Épigraphie Chrétienne* ; for instance, we have :

<sup>1</sup> Two vols. Murray, 1875.

From Mayence :

*In hoc titulo requiescit feliciter* In this tomb he rests happily.

From Belgica :

*Hic jacet in pace* . . . Here lies in peace.

From Narbonne :

*Requievit in pace* . . . He rested in peace.

From North Italy :

*Hic requiescit in somno pacis* Here rests in the sleep of peace.

And the same in Apulia.

From North Africa :

*Decessit, vixit in pace* . He departed, lived in peace.  
*In pace hic quiescit* . Here rests in peace.

From Great Britain :

*Hic in sepulcro requiescit* Here rests in the grave.

Later the precatory forms appear :

*Lucem tuam da Deus et requiem* O God, give Thy light and peace.

In Ireland, *Hic dormit*, "Here sleeps," occurs but once ; the rest are precatory forms, and mostly in Celtic.

A Roman epitaph, dated 472, " Bid us (as do others) not to weep " :

*Parcite vos lacrimis, dulces cum conjugē natæ* Abstain from tears, sweet daughters and my wife.  
*Viventemque Deo credite flere nefas* Believe that it is wrong to weep for one who lives to God.

But the most frequent affirmations that the dead are in peace, almost to the exclusion of other forms, are to be found in Dr. Hübner's *Inscriptiones*



*Hispaniæ Christianæ*,<sup>1</sup> and in other Spanish inscriptions of Visigothic times.

In these inscriptions of Christian Spain twice only is the precatory form used: in No. 129, from Cordova, *anima ejus requiescat in pace*; but to this Hübner attaches a note: *Fortasse sæculi aut noni aut recentioris etiam*, "Perhaps either of the ninth century or even of a later one." In the other, No. 171, of the date 614, the precatory form is conjectured only from the *Amen*. The inscription actually reads: . . . . *t in pace. Amen*. A very common form is *requiescit in pace*, which (with the plural form) occurs in twenty-one inscriptions; but the most common of all is *recessit in pace*, "he withdrew in peace," which occurs some twenty-nine times. The present forms, *requiescit*, *quiescit*, are more rare than the perfect, *requievit*, *quievit*; both these are sometimes used alone without the *in pace*. *Obiit in pace Dei*, "He died in the peace of God," is found twice; *depositus in pace*, "buried in peace," once. Another form is, *Spes in Deo*, "Hope in God"; another, *in Deo decedit e vita*, "he departs from life in God." But that which these early Spanish epitaphs are remarkable for—though the same thing may occur elsewhere—is the proof they give us that this confident belief of peace in death is affirmed not only of martyrs and confessors and saints, but of men of apparently ordinary Christian life. Thus we have No. 29, *Johannes penitens famulus Dei . . . requievit in pace*, "John the penitent servant of God—rested in peace"; No.

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniæ Christianæ*, edidit Æmilii Hübner, Berolini, apud Georgium Reimerum. MDCCCLXXI.

31, *In hoc loco quiescentis omnia peccata dimitte*, "forgive all the sins of him who is resting in this place," and at the end *requievit in pace*, "he rested in peace"; No. 33, *Accepta pœnitentia requievit in pace*, "having done penance he rested in peace"; the same in No. 43. In No. 54, *Accepta pœnitentia quievi in pace*, "having done penance I (he?) rested in peace"; No. 117, of a lady, *Maria fidelis Christi . . . cum pœnitentia recessit in pace*, "Mary, a faithful (servant) of Christ, departed in peace with penitence"; and others similar.<sup>1</sup>

So on the other side of the Pyrenees we find a series of epitaphs of the like date. "Hic requiescit Sedata." "Hic requiescit bone memorie Rodolphus"—"Requit in pace Dominica." "Hic requiescit bone memorie Masilia"—"requievit in pace domini." In these last two the affirmation is repeated, and can leave no doubt.<sup>2</sup> M. le Blant in the works above cited remarks that the formulæ used in Gaul are derived from Rome. They appear first in Rome, and are repeated some half century later in Gaul. The simplest forms are the earliest. *Hic jacet*, *hic pausat*, *hic quiescit*, are found in Rome in 365–371.<sup>3</sup> *Hic requiescit* is not

<sup>1</sup> I had omitted all the forms in *et*, *e*, as doubtful; but R. P. Fita, following Hübner, who has collected these examples, takes them as certainly indicative, and the change of *i* into *e* to be due to Romance influence. "Recesset Alepius in nomene Christi. X. Kal. Novembres era DXLII. in good Latin would be recessit, Alypius, nomine, novembris." This considerably strengthens my argument.—*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. December 1902. Tomo xli. p. 499.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions antiques des Pyrénées*, par Julien Sacaze Nos. 42, 45, 47, 52 (Toulouse, 1892).

<sup>3</sup> Le Blant, *Manuel*, p. 22.

seen in Rome before 376, and appears in Gaul in 422.<sup>1</sup> The formula lengthens after 469 into: *Hic requiescit in pace, hic requiescit bonæ memoriæ, hic requiescit in pace bonæ memoriæ*; then the *hic* is replaced by *in hoc tumultu* after 492<sup>2</sup>; so up to the end of the seventh century these indicative forms persist, sometimes with the addition of *feliciter*, happily, or *fidelis*, a believer, to show that the deceased had been baptized, *fidelis in pace*. Sometimes the affirmation is much stronger, as when the tomb is called: *Hospitium Paulæ est celestia regna tenentis*, "The hostel of Paula, who possesses the heavenly kingdoms,"<sup>3</sup> a verse repeated more than once. Another time we have *quæ vixit in timore Dei et requievit in pace*,<sup>4</sup> and again *Regna superna tenet, ad cælestia regna transiit*, "He possesses the realms above, and has passed to the heavenly kingdoms;" witnessing, as M. le Blant says, "to the belief in the immediate admission of the deceased to heaven."<sup>5</sup> As the last line of a long epitaph in verse gives it, *Amissis terris credimus esse polis*, "Having left the earth, we believe that he is in heaven."<sup>6</sup> Again, speaking of the gradual transformation of the Christian epitaph from one scarcely distinguishable from the pagan, we read: "The idolater bewails his dead plunged into darkness; all is gloomy in his eyes in the last day (of his life): he does not inscribe it on his tomb. But the believer sees those whom he has lost living in the light above: death is for him the

<sup>1</sup> Le Blant, *Manuel*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Nouveau Recueil*, p. 245.

<sup>6</sup> p. 442-43, and notes.

<sup>2</sup> p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> p. 417.

true birth. Full of joy, he keeps it in his memory; his tombstone tells it. This is the last word of the Christian epitaph; when this date is thus found there, there is nothing more to be added.”<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, I have not access to any of the larger works lately published on the Catacombs of Rome and their inscriptions, and can make use only of those given in Migne’s *Dictionnaire d’Épigraphie*, tome ii., article “Rome” (1852). I cite only the following :—

ccxliii. <i>In pace tandem qui-</i>	At last he has rested in
<i>evit</i>	peace.
ccxlvii. <i>Martino dormienti in</i>	To Martin sleeping in peace.
<i>pace</i>	

Very common are the simple *in pace*, *benemerenti in pace*, “to the well-deserving in peace”:

ccxciv. <i>In pace Christi</i>	. In the peace of Christ.
cccvii. <i>In pace Sanctæ Eccle-</i>	He has rested in the peace
<i>siæ requievit</i>	of the Holy Church.
cccxcv. <i>Deposita in pace</i>	. Buried in peace.
cccxcix. <i>Decessit in pace</i>	. He has departed in peace.
cccxl. } <i>Quiescit in pace</i>	. He rests in peace.
ccclxiv. }	
ccclviii. <i>Dormit in pace</i> (twice)	He sleeps in peace.
ccclxxvii. <i>In pace defunctus</i>	. Dead in peace.

As I remarked, the simple *in pace* is often accompanied with the figure of a dove or a fish, or in the case of a martyr with a palm-branch, all which emblems certainly enforce and emphasize the affirmation of an actual present peace, and are hardly suitable to a merely optative or precatory formula.

Imperfect as this sketch is, I do not think that longer research would greatly modify the conclu-

<sup>1</sup> *Manuel*, p. 58.

sion to be drawn from it, which is, that although the optative and precatory form is to be met with in the early ages of the Western Church, yet far more common is the affirmative form, the unhesitating conviction of faith that those who die in the Lord do depart in peace and rest in peace.<sup>1</sup> The one form has no more claim to be called "Catholic" or "Orthodox," than the other. And if we descend to later centuries, we still find echoes in the Church of Rome, and even in the city of Rome, of the earlier assurance. Thus in the Church of S. Maria à la Minerva, there is the epitaph of a bishop who died in 1574: *Obdormivit in Domino*, "He fell asleep in the Lord." In Spain it was long an act of simple courtesy to say or write at the mention of a deceased relative or friend, *que santa gloria haya*, or *que en gloria sea* or *esté*, "may he have holy glory," or "may he be in glory"; but theologians and doctors do not hesitate to say, in some cases, *que en gloria está*, "who is in glory"; both forms are used, though the former is the more common. In Spanish newspapers, in recording the deaths of children under two years old, the usual phrase is: he or she has gone to heaven, *ha subido al cielo*. At the end of vol. iii. of the Abbé Guillois' *Explication du Catéchisme*<sup>2</sup> approved models of Christian epitaphs are given; some close with *requiescat in pace*, but others tell of more confident hope of present peace and felicity.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Conc. Toletanum iii. can. 22. A.D. 589.

<sup>2</sup> *Explication historique, dogmatique, morale, liturgique et canonique du Catéchisme*, par M. l'Abbé Guillois. 12<sup>e</sup> édit. 4 vols. 12mo (F. Wattelier, Paris, 1870).

No. xv. (*Pro sacerdote.*)

*Hic requiescit  
Qui vixit ut dixit,  
Obiit ut vixit  
Vivit ut obiit;  
Id est,  
In et cum Domino.  
Aspice et fac secundum  
exemplar.*

(*For a priest.*)

Here rests  
One who lived as he taught,  
Who died as he lived.  
Who lives as he died;  
That is,  
In and with the Lord.  
See, and do after (his) ex-  
ample.

No. xxi. (*Pro rustico.*)

*Labor meus non fuit inanis  
Coram Domino,  
In eo enim inveni thesaurum  
  
Et requiem sempiternam.*

(*For a country labourer.*)

My labour has not been vain  
Before the Lord,  
For in Him I have found a  
treasure  
And everlasting rest.

No. xxii. (*Pro mendico.*)

*Dominus convertit laborem  
meum in gaudium  
Miseriam in gloriam,  
Et verbera in coronam.*

(*For a beggar.*)

The Lord has turned my  
labour into joy,  
(My) misery into glory,  
And my afflictions into a  
crown.

No. xxiii. (*Pro cæco.*)

*In tenebris sedebam,  
Et lumen cæli  
Nunc video.*

(*For a blind man.*)

I was abiding in darkness,  
And the light of heaven  
Now I see.

No. xxv. (*Pro viro piissimo.*)

*Dissolvi cupiebam  
Et esse cum Christo.  
Mors optata venit.  
Nunc vinculis exemptus  
Deum video sicuti est,  
Et facie ad faciem.*

(*For a very pious man.*)

I was desiring to be dissolved  
And to be with Christ.  
Death longed-for came.  
Now freed from chains  
I see God as He is,  
And with face to face.

The tone of these epitaphs is hardly consistent with that of a mere wish or prayer, but is rather affirmative of present peace and felicity. If it is, as often said, the natural feeling of the human heart to continue to pray for the dead as we have

done for the living ; yet numberless examples show us also that Christian faith goes beyond this ; and when one of God's holy ones departs this life, it is hard not to think of him as already receiving some reward. Thus, in a funeral sermon on the Archpriest of Pau, Mgr. Jauffret, Bishop of Bayonne, said : " Dear and venerated Archpriest, such has been your life, such it has its brilliant continuation in heaven." " Dear Archpriest, the angels have accompanied you to heaven ; this is why this evening, their brethren on earth, in spite of their own sorrow and ours, will keep festival here. Their hymns will echo those which have welcomed you to heaven." <sup>1</sup> The impulse of the believing soul seems almost irresistible in such cases.

These examples are, I think, sufficient to show us that the words of our Church are abundantly justified, when " we bless Thy Holy Name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear," when we speak of " the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity," and

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin du Diocèse de Bayonne*, Dec. 15, 1901, pp. 861-2. Cf. Mgr. Dupanloup at the death of his mother, who died on the Eve of the Purification. " Then I came and said the Mass of the Festival beside her. The Mass of the dead was forbidden ; I was delighted at it (j'en fus ravi). When our Saviour was present at the moment of consecration I had great confidence. At the *Memento* my soul cried out. . . . Then God gave me the profound assurance, not only of her salvation, but of her actual happiness. This thought still abides with me. . . . I say many a *Te Deum*, I cannot be weary of saying them." *Journal intime de Monseigneur Dupanloup, Evêque d'Orléans*, par L. Brancherlau, p. 75. (C. Douniol, Paris, 1902.)

when "we give hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased Thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world." Using such prayers and thanksgivings, we may surely say *requiescit*, and not only *requiescat*. We do not thereby pass any final judgment on the departed; we only affirm our confident belief in the fulfilment of God's promises: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours." The conditions are analogous to those of repentance and absolution. No Church on earth claims the power of absolving the impenitent; but every priest or minister of the Gospel claims and exercises the power of declaring and pronouncing absolution to the truly penitent. The minister may be deceived, but he none the less, with fullest faith, declares and conveys God's forgiveness of the penitent; he gives in fullest assurance to the faithful penitent God's pardon and deliverance from all his sins, and tells him that God's promise cannot be broken, and that what is so said on earth is ratified in heaven. To bid the weary sin-laden soul to trust with fullest faith in this promise of his God is the very message of the Gospel for the remission of sins; apart from this it has little meaning; and yet no words of God, spoken by man, can absolve the hardened hypocrite or the wilfully impenitent. So we may affirm as confidently our belief in God's promise when we say of one departed in the Lord, "he rests in peace," and still leave the ultimate judgment to God.

Thus, even if we own a prayer for the dead to



be an act of faith, we may still admit that it is as great or even a greater act of faith to give thanks for their felicity and peace. A revered clergyman used one day weekly to say the prayer in the Burial Service, giving thanks by name before his family for all relatives and friends "departed hence in the Lord." Can we never rise into this purer atmosphere of the early Church? Are we always to dwell amid the mists of the doubt and hesitation of later centuries, and say only :

"I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,  
And gather dust and chaff, and call  
To what I feel is Lord of all,  
And *faintly* trust the larger hope"?

May we not fully believe that the souls of the faithful do rest in the Lord? We may surely still say of a Christian departed with all means and ministrations of grace, "he sleeps in peace." There may, indeed, be exceptional cases, such as those of suicides under apparently temporary insanity, or where the will has become enfeebled, and the closing years have contrasted with those gone before, or where faith has never been fully attained; here we may perhaps dare only to say *requiescant in pace*, "may they rest in peace." But of those who die in God's faith and fear, with all the blessings of the Church, surely we may say *requiescunt in pace*, "they rest in peace." And even should the life have been more than usually stained with sin and error, yet if true repentance has followed, may we not say of such an one, in the words of the early Spanish Church, *Pœnitens, or accepta penitentia, requievit in pace?*

#### IV

##### THE SPANISH CHURCH UP TO THE YEAR 1000

IN a late number (December, 1880, to March, 1881) of the *Revista de Ciencias Históricas*, of Barcelona, there appeared a previously unpublished treatise, entitled *Religion Española*, written in the year 1816 by the celebrated Jesuit, Padre Juan Francisco Masdeu, author of *La Historia Crítica de España*, and other works. The arguments of this writer, though a Jesuit, are so completely opposed to the later development of Roman dogma and discipline, that I have thought a short account of his views may not be unacceptable to some of the readers of the *Foreign Church Chronicle*. The essay was written at Rome, and was addressed "to the most Excellent and most Eminent the Cardinal Primate, and to the most illustrious Archbishops and Bishops of all the Dominions of Spain." Though never before printed, the work was not wholly unknown to the literary world. D<sup>o</sup>. M. Menendez y Pelayo in the *Addenda et corrigenda* of vol. iii. of his excellent *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* (Madrid, 1881) speaks of this pamphlet:

"The little work of Masdeu, published as such

by the *Revista de Ciencias Históricas* of Barcelona, was also not inedited.

"*Iglesia Española*, a work written in Rome and dedicated to the Very Rev. the Cardinal Primate, to the Very Revs. the Archbishops and Bishops of Spain, by D. Juan Francisco Masdeu in 1815 : to this was added another pamphlet by the same author, entitled *Bosquejo de una Reforma necesaria en el presente mundo Cristiano en materia de jurisdiccion*, presented to the government of the same in 1779 (Madrid, 1841, impr. de Yenes, 8º marq)." P. 855.

In the body of his work Menendez y Pelayo writes thus :—

"Masdeu suffered from an historical illusion, and from overwhelming confidence in his scientific method. Like many of that time, fired with enthusiasm for the glory of the primitive Spanish Church, he had got it into his head that it was possible to restore that ancient discipline in its purity, as the only true and sound one ; and from this he concluded that all that had happened in Spain since the Benedictine reform, and the arrival of the Gallican monks, and the abolition of the Mozarabic ritual, were usurpations and encroachments of the Roman Curia, favoured and assisted by the French." Of this pamphlet he says : "It contains more to shock than to profit ; the *regalias* are now things of the past ; no one dreams of national churches ; and the pamphlet adds nothing to what we knew before from the *Historia Crítica*, from the *Apologia Católica*, in it, wishing to justify himself, he weakened his cause through his incapacity for moderation and for keeping within bounds

in anything." (Vol. iii. 195.) Gams, the Benedictine historian, treats Masdeu as hypercritical: "Die hyperkritik dieser 'kritische Geschichte.'" <sup>1</sup> Vicente de la Fuente uses the same term: "Masdeu y su hipercrítica." He adds: "The ideas which Masdeu puts forth on the rights of the crown, and the enthusiasm with which he speaks of our Gothic discipline, were very general at that time. Bishops Tavira, Abad y Lasierra, Climent and Amat, and some others, were infected with them." "It is no less certain that he did no little harm to the Church, and to the pontifical authority, fomenting the aversion towards it; and depicting Popes who held right and pious views in disparaging colours." <sup>2</sup> Political events had a great deal to do with this: first, the expulsion of the Jesuits, which originated in French ideas; then the horrors of the French invasion caused everything French to be regarded with abhorrence.

Attention was directed to the pamphlet in the biography of Masdeu, inserted by his friend Bishop Torres Amat in the *Memorias para ayuda á formar un Diccionario Crítico de Escritores Catalanes* (Barcelona, 1836). The MS. had also been examined, and copies made, by other ecclesiastical historians.

The paper may be called a protest against all past exactions and encroachments of the Popes on the National Church of Spain, and it is a vigorous defence of the purity of the dogma and discipline of the latter for the first ten centuries, while wholly

<sup>1</sup> *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, von Pius Bonifacius Gams, O.S.B., vol. v. p. 422 (Regensburg, 1879).

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Ecclesiástica de España*, por Don Vicente de la Fuente. 2<sup>a</sup> edit., vol. vi. pp. 160-1 (Madrid, 1875).

independent of Papal influence. The writer is fully aware both of the odium likely to be brought upon himself by the maintenance of such a thesis, and also how much his views are opposed to those of the current histories of the Spanish Church. In his apology for writing this essay he declares that the most learned Spanish historians, either through political bias, through fear, or through following blindly the authority of received writers, have constantly stated what is false ; but that he writes now solely from documents, either contemporary or the nearest to the time of the occurrence of the facts which he relates. In another place he speaks of the immense amount of forged documents, charters, privileges, briefs, etc., fabricated in the monasteries in favour of exemption from episcopal authority, and of the maintenance of Papal claims.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of Father Masdeu is to show (1) that the Spanish Church, for the first thousand years of the Christian era, was a strictly National Church, singularly pure both in doctrine and discipline, and wholly independent of Papal subjection. (2) That the change and subsequent deterioration took rise from the invasion of the French Benedictine monks of Cluny,<sup>2</sup> and was brought about chiefly through

<sup>1</sup> This multiplicity of forged documents is also mentioned at an earlier date by Padre Sarmiento (1692-1770). He declares that he never examined any municipal or family archives without finding forged documents or charters in them. It is this which makes early Spanish history so irritating to the student, and which has led to its being so often erroneous.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, por Dr. Menéndez Pelayo, tomo i. 365. While maintaining that the change was beneficial, Menéndez y Pelayo writes : "At the

the turbulent ambition of Diego Gelmirez, Bishop of Santiago, in the twelfth century ; and enforced by the new claims of Alexander II. and Gregory VII., which were introduced into Spain by the French Benedictine party, and were upheld by the whole authority of these and of the subsequent Popes.

I shall now give a brief summary of the Father's chief arguments, premising that I neither adopt, nor is it my purpose to correct, either his facts or dates where they appear to me to be mistaken. The essay is itself little more than a summary, and has no pretence of literary style. This must be my excuse for the baldness of what follows. The *italics* in every case are those of Masdeu ; the footnotes are my own.

#### CHAP. I.—*General Condition of the Church.*

The Spanish Church was the oldest in Europe except Rome. "The first Gentile convert, Cornelius, was a native of Seville. The first Apostolic preaching in Europe was that of St. James in Spain ; the first Christian European church dedicated to Jesus Christ was that of Zaragoza, anterior even to that at Rome.

The original Spanish liturgy was composed by

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same time, and as a consequence of French influence, our liturgy was altered, sacrificed at the altar of unity ; but not without popular regret, not without a tenacious and noble resistance ; and we fastened closer and closer the bands which united our Church with other Western Churches, and with Rome, the head of all." Cf. also vol. i. p. 31. Compare with this what Bishop Lightfoot says of an earlier submission to Rome in the English Church. *Leaders in the Northern Church*, by the late J. B. Lightfoot, Lord Bishop of Durham, pp. 14-16. (Macmillan and Co., 1890.)

the seven Apostolic missionaries ;<sup>1</sup> but was gradually added to by successive Spanish Fathers and councils. Perverted for a while by the Priscillianists in Galicia—but in Galicia alone—it was finally corrected and expurgated by St. Isidore, on the command of the Council of Toledo, 633 ; since which date it has remained without alteration.

Spain has always been singularly free from heresies ;<sup>2</sup> the few heretical teachers in Spain were either foreigners, or, if Spaniards, like Claudius of Turin, they taught out of Spain. Up to the year 1000, the number of distinguished Spanish saints, of all ranks and classes, lay and clerical, is perfectly astounding. The piety of the nation was nobly evinced in ecclesiastical art. The altars were of stone, the linen of the finest quality, the vestments of wool or of silk, embroidered with silver and gold. The shrines, crosses, chalices, and chandeliers were of precious metal.<sup>3</sup> Wax candles or oil lamps were kept burning night and day before images and relics, even when the practice—which was afterwards approved by the seventh Œcumenical Council of Nice—was considered idolatrous in France and other European states. Our author

<sup>1</sup> These are said to have been Torquatus, Indaletius, Ctesiphon, Euphrasius, Cæcilius, Hesychius or Esitius, and Secundus, who founded Churches, respectively, at Accitana (Guadix), Urci, Bergium (Verja), Iliturgi (Andújar), Iliberis, Carteya, and Avila.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Menendez Pelayo's *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, tomo i. pp. 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup> The treasure and metal crowns of Guarrazar, discovered near Toledo in 1855, singularly confirm this. Part of this treasure is now exhibiting in London. See also Riaño's *Industrial Arts of Spain*: Kensington Exhibition Hand-books.

allows, however, that the habit of frequenting daily service had fallen off in Spain more than in France.

CHAP. II.—*On the Authority of the Pope.*

The Pope was acknowledged in Spain as the vicar of Jesus Christ and the successor of St. Peter, as the patriarch of the Western Church, as the primate of the whole Catholic Church, as a bishop superior to all other bishops, as chief of honour and jurisdiction, as doctor and master (*maestro*) of all, as the visible ecclesiastical head whom all faithful Catholics should respect, under penalty of schism. Between the Pope and the bishops there was believed to be both *equality* and *inequality*. *Equality*, because all are successors of the Apostles, each one is a portion of the apostolate; they have the same episcopal jurisdiction each in his particular diocese, and all hold this jurisdiction immediately from God. *Inequality*, because the Pope is a successor, not of any Apostle, but of St. Peter, the prince or chief of the rest; he has a more general and more extensive jurisdiction; he is the highest primate, to whom all other bishops owe respect and subjection. As to his primacy, it has the honour of anteriority, for to St. Peter both the pontificate and the power of binding and loosing were first given. The *primacy of jurisdiction* depends on St. Peter being the foundation-stone of the Church and the pastor of all other prelates. This, for more than one thousand years, was the doctrine and belief of Spaniards; and Spain was more careful in preserving the archives



of the early Church, and had a larger and more authentic collection of canons, decrees, etc., than any other Church, without excepting that of Rome.

Only two rights of Papal jurisdiction were then acknowledged in Spain, viz. that of Appeal and that of the Nunciature; but these were very different from what they became in later times. The appeals were simply consultative, and there is no example even of them for the first thousand years, and only two Nunciatures, one to examine the case of some deposed bishops, the other for information concerning the Spanish liturgy. The indifference of the ancient Spanish Church as to the infallibility of the Pope is very striking. Elipandus maintained "*that the privilege of holiness, without spot or wrinkle, was promised, not to the Roman, but to the Catholic Church,*" and this statement was never disapproved. So, too, St. Isidore. The resolutions of the Pope, in accord with a Council, were much more respected in Spain than any delivered by himself alone, by brief, or by letter from his chancery. This is seen in the wording of the Councils of Toledo, which quote always from his *synodal decrees*, or *synodal letters*. Our author then brings forward instances of the slight regard paid to merely Papal decrees: *e.g.* changes of the liturgy received in Italy were never received in Spain; the history of the preaching of St. James in Spain was ordered to be expunged from the Breviary by Clement VIII., but the order was resisted in Spain, and the passage was restored to the Breviary by Urban VIII.; St. Gregory the Great wished to exempt

monks from episcopal jurisdiction, an exemption which was not allowed in Spain; Hadrian I. declared that not fasting on the Sabbath (Saturday) was impious and heretical,<sup>1</sup> an exaggeration which was rejected by the Spanish Church, "for our very learned bishops knew, and were aware, that the custom of not fasting on all Sabbaths did not merit such a censure"; the Decree of Stephen in favour of Basilides was not received in Spain, and Pope Honorius was sharply reproved by Spanish bishops for his immoderate language; St. Julian, Bishop of Toledo, corrected the erroneous doctrine of Benedict II. as to the third Council of Constantinople, and compelled him to withdraw his censures.<sup>2</sup> These are given as some examples only of the relations between the ancient Spanish Church and the Papacy.

### CHAP. III.—*On the Authority of the Kings.*

The relations between Church and State were very different then. The Church admitted four regal rights, of the exercise of which by the king it never had cause to repent. These were: (1) To watch over religion and morals, and to decree everything necessary for the observance of ecclesi-

<sup>1</sup> This difference still exists, and I have heard the practice most sharply attacked and defended by members of conterminous dioceses of France and Spain.

<sup>2</sup> "In libro illo quem per Petrum regionarium Romanæ Ecclesiæ miseramus, id primum capitulum jam dicto papæ incaute visum fuisse a nobis positum." "Ad secundum quoque retractandum capitulum transientes, quod idem papa incaute nos dixisse putavit." Conc. Tolet. xv., A.D. 688. *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, tomus octavus, col. 513-4. (Accurante J. P. Migne, Paris, 1850.)

astical law, and for common edification and piety. Thus the Council of Barcelona (1014) calls the sovereign "*The Watch-tower (Atalaya) of the Bishops of Catalonia*," and he signs himself, "*Inspector of the Dioceses of his Dominions*." (2) The right of ultimate appeal and examination of all ecclesiastical causes, and the enforcement of the sentences thus given. Thus it was that the royal judges sat with the bishops in provincial councils. But the king was judge only in matters of rights, rents, property, suits, etc.; not in matters of discipline, much less of doctrine. (3) The right of convoking and confirming all national councils; a practice which the tenth Toledan says came "*by holy tradition from our fathers*."<sup>1</sup> (4) The nomination of all the bishops of the nation. Primitively each clergy, or town, elected its own bishop; gradually the nomination was surrendered into the hands of the king.<sup>2</sup> The right of

<sup>1</sup> "Referentes gratias invisibili Deo et glorioso rerum domino Recevintho regi, cujus sacratissimo voto retenta paternitatis sanctæ traditione ad sacrum quivimus adunari conventum." Conc. Tolet. x. 656, A.D. preamble.

<sup>2</sup> This regal right was several times lost, modified, and recovered. The present practice is for the king to submit three names, of which the Pope chooses one as bishop. Burriel in his Preface to the Isidorian collection of Councils goes farther than this, and says "imo per tredecim prima sæcula Ecclesiæ Hispaniæ inventus est nemo, qui talem confirmationem a sede apostolica obtinere studuerit." *Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia*, tom. viii. col. 889. (Migne's edit. Paris, 1850.)

"Constat quoque ex Ecclesiæ antiquitate, juxta conciliorum generalium antiqua instituta, in multis provinciis Episcopos promotos esse cum electione Cleri, et assensu populi, et finitorum Episcoporum et maxime Metropolitanis, nullo habito recurso ad primam sedem." *Lettres et Mémoires*

informing the monarch of the vacancy was given to the Bishop of Toledo at the Council in 681. Afterwards the more primitive rule was restored in some cases. The right of appointment, together with that of translation, was exercised by the king without any Papal interference. Besides these rights the king was allowed to hold intercourse with any excommunicated or censured person, but was himself exempted from all ecclesiastical punishments. Only after the year 1000 the clergy had recourse to Rome in these matters.

#### CHAP. IV.—*The Authority of the Bishops.*

Episcopal jurisdiction in Spain was constantly held as of "*divine right*." <sup>1</sup> In eleven centuries there is no mention of any bishop "*by grace of the Apostolic See*." The councils, decrees, synodal epistles, etc., always attributed this jurisdiction to "*the grace of God*," "*the favour of the Holy Spirit*," or "*the virtue of Jesus Christ*." For six centuries all bishops were equal in dignity; the only distinction being that of priority of consecration. The "*bishop of the first Chair*" was the oldest bishop in order of consecration, without any distinc-

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*de François de Vargas, de Pierre de Malvenda, et de quelques Evêques d'Espagne touchant le Concile de Trente*, pp. 461-2. (Amsterdam, MDCC.)

<sup>1</sup> The divine right and jurisdiction of bishops were most warmly defended by the Spanish bishops at the Council of Trent. *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, de Fra Paolo Sarpi, p. 587 seq. (Amsterdam, 1686.) *Lettres de Vargas*, op. cit., pp. 362, 375. *La Contre-Révolution religieuse au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, par Martin Philipppson, pp. 511-4 seq. (Bruxelles, 1884.) *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation*, von Eberhard Gothein, p. 508. (Halle, 1895.)

tion of dioceses. Later the bishops of the capitals of the provinces became metropolitans ; but there was no metropolitan of the whole nation.

The metropolitans had five rights : (1) To convoke provincial councils in their own province ; (2) to watch over the subaltern dioceses ; (3) to supply suffragan bishops in case of absence ; (4) to judge all causes in the first instance, and to hear appeals from subordinate bishops ; (5) to consecrate all the bishops of their provinces. More anciently neighbouring bishops used to consecrate the bishop-elect ; but after the foundation of the metropolitan sees none were allowed to consecrate without licence of the metropolitan.

The rights of the suffragan bishops were fifteen : (1) to make the chrism ; (2) to administer Confirmation ; (3) to confer greater orders ; (4) to convoke diocesan councils ; (5) to consecrate churches ; (6) to appoint or approve of priests for the cure of souls ; (7) to give dispensations ; (8) to grant indulgences ; (9) to canonize saints ; (10) to judge the causes of their dioceses ; (11) to impose censures ; (12) to absolve penitents ; (13) to catechize and to preach ; (14) to initiate minor orders ; (15) to take care of the temporal goods of the Church. Some of these rights were peculiar to bishops, others, especially the six last, could be delegated in whole or part.

One of the most indispensable was that of canonizing saints, mentioned in the Council of Iliberis, and it was one of the last rights surrendered to Rome. The first example of the surrender is in 1279. The right of granting indulgences was

likewise peculiar to bishops, resulting from the public penances of the excommunicated. The penitent, in order to obtain in whole, or in part, the pardon which he did not merit through the merits of others, sought reconciliation through the appointed confessors ; who gave him reconciliation (*paz*) with a *confessorial letter* (*carta confesoria*), in accordance with which the bishop absolved him, and gave him, as a public proof of his indulgence and pardon, a *communicatory letter* (*carta comunicatoria*). These indulgences, whether partial or plenary, were dispensed by all bishops, generally through the merits of Jesus Christ and the saints.

It is undoubted that all the dispensations which are now sought at Rome were granted by the Spanish bishops, either with or without a council ; whether dispensations of marriage, canonical penance, ordinating under age, relaxation of vows, residence or translation of bishops, union or division of dioceses, and other similar cases. It is certain that for these no recourse was had to Rome for more than one thousand years.

The bishops were also treasurers, administrators, and stewards of all ecclesiastical property in their dioceses, whether cathedral, monastic, parochial, or of any other sort. Inventories of all diocesan property were taken before five witnesses, and an authentic copy of the Church property was given to the nominees at all appointments in the diocese. At the death of every ecclesiastic, priest, abbot, or bishop, these accounts were examined before giving effect to his will.

With regard to episcopal jurisdiction, though all

ecclesiastics were subject to the ordinary civil jurisdiction, they could cite one another only before the bishops' tribunal; the simple clerk before the court of the suffragan bishop, the suffragan bishop before that of the metropolitan, and he before a council or meeting of metropolitans. The ultimate appeal was always to the king. For the first thousand years the Church had neither prisons nor police officers (*alguaciles*), nor any semblance of criminal or coercive law. For the Spanish Fathers and doctors thought that religion was to be maintained, not by the sword, but by the tongue; not by temporal, but by spiritual castigation. Excommunication, deposition, suspension, degradation; these were the penalties inflicted by the bishops on the guilty. At times, banishment or reclusion in monasteries was the sentence in cases of grave scandal. If these punishments were not submitted to, in these, as in every other cause, the coercive execution did not issue in the name, or on account of (*por cuenta de la Iglesia*) the Church, but of its royal Protector.

#### CHAP. V.—*The Condition of the Clergy.*

The clergy were considered in Spain *citizens* as well as *ecclesiastics*. Under the first head they were subjects of the king, amenable to the tribunals, liable to tribute, taxes, and even to defend with their own persons, when necessary, either their religion, country, or king. Considered as ecclesiastics, they were subject each to his bishop, and were obedient to all his mandates, both as regarded

the temporalities as well as the spiritualities of the Church.

As to the celibacy of the clergy, *that the deacon, priest, or bishop, who had married before his ordination once only, might live with his first wife, but might not marry a second*, this is the only Apostolic and ancient law in the matter (*esta es en el asunto la única ley apostólica y antigua*). This was observed in the early Spanish Church, but this law was gradually extended. The prohibition of second marriages was applied to subdeacons, and no other woman but the wife was allowed alone in the house. The widow of an ecclesiastic could not re-marry under any pretext. Next, bishops, priests, and deacons were bidden to abstain from their wives on the days and seasons when they executed their ministry. Then, either separation or total conjugal abstinence was enforced ; lastly, bishops and parish priests professed chastity, which was extended afterwards to all who received the greater orders.

The clergy were anciently allowed to engage in trade, for, when the clergy had wives and children, and the Church as yet had no endowments, a commercial life was more fitting (*mas decente*) to an ecclesiastic than that of a mendicant or a pauper. This was the state of things in nearly all Europe, according to the degree of civilization in which a commercial life was more or less esteemed in each country. But the Spanish Church carefully watched over this commerce, so that it should interfere neither with the honour nor with the exercise of the ministry. This kind of life, however, lasted a



shorter time in Spain than in any other country, and was brought to an end by the prohibition of marriage as shown above.

Cloistered or common life was introduced first into the cathedrals, when the chapter lived together under a prior, as the "*conclave canonical*"; and a school was generally annexed to the chapter.

#### CHAP. VI.—*The Monastic State.*

There were no cloistered monks in Spain for the first five centuries, only lay hermits and consecrated virgins living in private houses. The Council of Zaragoza, 380, can. vi., states that the sacerdotal state should be preferred to the monastic, and that a monk might aspire to be a clerk, but not a clerk to be a monk. The consecrated virgins were not allowed to make a vow of chastity, nor were they permitted to take the veil under forty years of age. Monasteries began about the year 500, under the arbitrary direction of their respective bishops and abbots; not till sixty or seventy years afterwards did they become subject to a fixed rule. There were three classes in the monasteries: children, called *oblato*s; novices, called *conversos*; and religious, called *confesos*. There existed a few mixed monasteries, but no scandal is on record as having arisen therefrom in Spain.

All monks and nuns were subject to their bishop both in temporal and spiritual things, although there were matters peculiar to their own institution. For more than one thousand years there was in Spain no privilege, Papal, royal, or conciliar, which

could exempt any monastery or monk from obedience to the bishop. With some exceptions as to the rights of the patron, the bishop nominated absolutely all abbots and abbesses without any participation of the monks and nuns. Monks, as well as the other clergy, were subject to the king, and paid all taxes, etc., unless when particularly excused.

Monks lived well under this rule, and were frequently consulted by the bishops, and were promoted to parishes, or even to bishoprics.

CHAP. VII.—*The Spanish Church during these ages was the most respected of all Churches.*

The Spanish bishops were the most distinguished of all in the Councils of Nice and Sardica. The definitions and decrees of the Spanish national councils were adopted by many foreign Churches, and even by Popes in their decretals. Even the method and form of holding these councils were taken from Spanish precedents.

Many pious customs originated in Spain, *e.g.* the Feast of the Conception of the Mother of God, in the middle of the seventh century; clerical tonsure in the fifth; diocesan seminaries in the sixth and seventh. The addition of the Constantinopolitan Creed to the mass in 519. The Acts of the sixth Œcumenical Council were sent to Spain to be examined. The rite of single instead of trine immersion in baptism was adopted by the Spanish Church, was approved by Gregory the Great,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gregory's Letter in VI. Canon of Conc. Tolet. iv. It is marked by as large-hearted wisdom as his letters to our own St. Augustine in Bede.

received and adopted by other Churches, though it has since been altered in the Roman Church. The "Filioque" clause was first adopted in Spain.

## PART II.

The second part, though much longer (sixty-one out of eighty-seven pages), is hardly of equal interest to the English reader, and I shall merely indicate its general line of argument. In it Masdeu traces the downfall of the early Spanish National Church chiefly to the action and the influence of the French Benedictine Monks of Cluny, and their authority with the Pope Alexander II. and Gregory VII. Before this time the doctrine of the Papal Temporal Supremacy was wholly unknown in Spain. He then sketches out the history of the substitution of the Roman for the Gothic (Mozarabic) liturgy throughout Spain, except at Toledo,<sup>1</sup> and shows that the latter was exempt from any trace of doctrinal error. To disprove the credit of the monks of Cluny he quotes largely from St. Bernard's letters, especially from those to Eugenius III. He then brings forward particular instances in Spanish history of Papal excess, extortion, and interested political double-dealing, especially in the matter of prohibitions of, or dispensations for, royal marriages. He points out that it was the very best kings, such as St. Ferdinand of Spain and St. Louis of France, who most earnestly and vigorously rejected the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Menendez Pelayo's *Historia de los Heterodoxos*, tomo i. 365. He gives, or alludes to, the same facts, but his conclusions as to the results are exactly opposite to those above given.

Papal claims. The *Sedes Apostolica* of Spain up to the tenth century was Santiago de Compostella, not Rome. He details the gradual usurpation of episcopal rights by the Pope, and his acquisition of power over the temporalities of churches and monasteries. Then comes the story of the humiliation of the royal power; how the clergy were exempted first from the civil authority, and that thence arose the lamentable necessity of episcopal prisons and police. Then the nomination of bishops and the power of convoking national councils were taken from the kings; though the former has since been partially recovered. Concubinage among the clergy, with other disorders unknown before, followed on the introduction of monasticism. Both the burning of heretics, this impious cruelty (*esta impia crueldad*), and the Inquisition were introduced from France. The early Spaniards were tolerant.<sup>1</sup> They held that it was lawful as Span-

<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that Masdeu is quite right on this point, which Buckle wrongly attacks McCrie for having asserted. The documents published by F. Gonsalez in his *Mudéjares en Castilla*, the early travels lately published, all show that foreign ecclesiastics and visitors were astonished at the tolerance of the Spanish court. How the opposite feeling arose is too long to tell here. It is curious to notice that while Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, vol. iii. 511 (Regensburg, 1879), tries to throw the odium of the Inquisition off the Church on the nation, and has been called a heretic for so doing, Menendez Palayo, tomo ii. 690, obra citata 1880, resolutely accepts it and defends the institution and its punishments.

We may cite also a verse from the thirteenth-century poem "Roncesvalles," first printed by R. P. F. Fita, S.J., in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tomo iv. p. 174 (Madrid, 1888), then by M. l'Abbé V. Dubarrat, *Roncevaux* (Pau, 1889).

iards to attack Mohammedans with spiritual arms, but not with temporal ; that we might, as Christians, at the peril of our life introduce the Gospel among the followers of the Koran, but only with the tongue, which is the sword of Jesus Christ. Intolerance was introduced by foreign crusaders. It was a wrong and excessive piety which added the word "Roman" to the "Catholic Church" in the creed ; but the greatest wrong of all to the National Church was the abolition of the national and provincial councils, and the greatest actual need is their restoration.

The above may seem poor and commonplace to an English Churchman. The significance of the paper consists in the position of the writer more even than in the facts which he brings forward. The essay is evidence of the deep unrest and dissatisfaction which exists among several of the most learned and best-informed theologians of the Roman Church—especially if they are students of early ecclesiastical history—at the position of the National Churches and of the episcopate under Papal absolutism. It shows us how strongly these feelings existed at the beginning of the century in Masdeu's case, a Jesuit who yielded implicit outward obedience to the injunctions of his superiors to the end of his life, being ordered from his studies in Barcelona to do simple school-work in Valencia,

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"Porta patet omnibus, infirmis et sanis.  
Non solum catholicis, verum et paganis,  
Judæis, hereticis, ociosis, vanis ;  
Et, ut dicam breviter, bonis et profanis."

in which uncongenial occupation he soon died. The wrongs alleged above have been since intensified tenfold, and the hidden feeling of dissatisfaction, in spite of all outward repression, is intensified also. What may be the issue is in God's knowledge only. This particular evidence of dissatisfaction might, I have thought, be of interest, and perhaps even of service to English Churchmen, showing as it does that even a Jesuit theologian can look back with envy on a National Church, under royal protection, and with bishops appointed directly by the Crown.

## V

### IGNATIUS LOYOLA AND THE COUNTER- REFORMATION <sup>1</sup>

"THE Catholicism of the present day rests upon the Counter-Reformation of the seventeenth century." So runs the opening sentence of E. Gothein's recent work, *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation*. It is a book which gives almost more than it promises. The Counter-Reformation is often taken to mean merely the result of the action of the Jesuits, and the Council of Trent, the stamping out of the Reform movements in Italy and Spain, their restriction in Belgium and France, and the religious division of Europe fixed by the Thirty Years' War in Germany. But Herr Gothein, in this history of the Counter-Reformation, like M. Philippson in *La Contre-Révolution religieuse au XVI<sup>ème</sup> Siècle*,<sup>2</sup> does not come down to these times. The limit of both these writers is the close of the Council of Trent, and the history of the early Jesuits. Philippson nearly agrees with Gothein in

<sup>1</sup> *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation*, von Eberhard Gothein. (Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1895.)

<sup>2</sup> *La Contre-Révolution religieuse au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, par Martin Philippson. (Bruxelles et Paris, 1884.)

the sentence quoted above. "De lui," he says, meaning the Council of Trent, "*date une époque nouvelle pour l'Église Catholique.*" Both these writers, it will be observed, use the term "Catholic" as if belonging exclusively to the Roman Catholic Church. In this we shall not imitate them. But if it be true to any considerable extent, as they assert, that modern Romanism dates from the Council of Trent, then the preliminaries of that Council, and the events which led to it, the history of the debates and of the chief actors in it, must be of the utmost interest and importance to all who would understand the ecclesiastical history of the present day.

Herr Gothein occupies the early portion of his work with a vivid narrative of the attempts at inward reformation in Spain and Italy, provoked and set on foot in order to answer to the reformation of Luther in Germany. After a slight sketch of the movement in Spain, our author deals much more fully with that in Italy. He maintains that the principles of the Italian Renaissance and of the Humanists were not nearly so pagan, nor so hostile, to religion as is generally supposed. The Renaissance on the whole was favourable to Rome. He quotes with approval this sentence from one of the biographers of Miami: "When the Lutheran heresy stirred up doubts as to the merit of works, God raised up a Miami to show in him the power of an almost extinct charity." This intense self-devotion to works of charity was the true answer of the inner reformers of the Church of Rome to the proclamation of justification by faith alone put forth by



Luther. Some of the most interesting pages of this volume are those in which are drawn for us a picture of this internal reform, the men who wrought it, the methods they employed, and the results of their work.

In reading these descriptions we cannot fail to be struck with the likeness and the parallel between some of the recent movements in the Church of England and that of this reformation of the Roman Catholic Church in Italy. We find the like methods employed in both cases, the like stress laid on the same points, to remedy similar needs. We discover with surprise that not only the means employed by the Tractarians and the High Church party, but also those used by the early Evangelical revivalists, nay, some of those of the Salvation Army, were freely employed by these Roman Catholic reformers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Street preaching, Sunday-schools, prison visiting, and reforms like those of John Howard and Mrs. Fry, work in hospitals, refuges, penitentiaries, care for the deaf and dumb, "slumming" in all its forms—these all marked the movement in one place or another. There was no too painful shrinking from what might seem bad taste to the cultivated; on the contrary, a tinge of melodrama and of theatrical action was sometimes given to the movement, especially by the Jesuits. The men engaged were men like Contarini, Sadoleti, Gaetan and Caraffa (the founders of the Theatins), Giberti, Miami, Filippo Neri of the Oratory, and many others who were known first as "going out into the streets and lanes of the city" before they

were called to found religious Orders, to be cardinals and candidates for the Papacy, or to rule their Church as Popes. In Italy, contrary to what took place in the North, it was the Protestant reformers whose work presented a weak esoteric character, an almost feminine delicacy of spirit and shrinking from reality ; their speculations were too subtle to be seized by the populace, or to affect them largely. This is the characteristic of the circles—one might almost use the French word *salons*—which gathered round Olympia Morata, Renée of Ferrara, Vittoria Colonna, Ochino, the Valdes of Naples, and others. We might almost include in them men like Cardinal Pole, or Morone, at one period of his life, whose influence was confined to a limited but select company. It was the stronger men on the side of the Papacy who used rougher but more effective tools, who sought contact with the people instead of fearing it. It was they who laid the foundation of the Counter-Reformation, and of all that there was of good in the work of the Council of Trent.

Let us consider this a little more in detail. Giberti declared that all parish priests were bound to teach children religion on Sunday. He prepared a short catechism in imitation of Luther's, and intended to be a counterpoise to it. He established fifteen Sunday-schools in Verona, and went so far as to keep children in them all day long. He employed lay teachers freely in these schools, "for," said he, "the harvest is great, but the labourers are few"; and from this work proceeded, on the one side, orphan homes, hospitals, reformatories for lost

women, on the other side, theological schools for training the clergy, and finally the diocesan seminary, the most powerful weapon in the modern Church of Rome. Miami followed almost the same lines in Venice and Milan, but with still greater devotion to works of charity. Filippo Neri, the founder of the Oratory, appears at first with less of the character of the conventional saint, except in his poverty. When not engaged in religious study, he loved to collect the street boys of Florence, and to prove himself the merriest comrade, the greatest buffoon of all. But all the while he was aiming at their conversion, and led so many hardened sinners to repentance, and then to embrace a monastic life, that Ignatius Loyola used to call him "the hand-bell, which summoned men to the cloister, but never went in itself." He held all the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome in their crudest and most materialistic forms. His personal asceticism and humility went to the verge of cynicism, and loss of self-respect. He was, as it were, the G. W. Ward of the movement in comparison with Dr. Pusey of the Tractarians. Ignatius Loyola early saw the importance of street preaching, and eagerly took it up. He began his own work with this, and would never suffer any blame to be attached to it. It was practised with especial diligence and success at the time of the Carnival. There was daily practice and continual examination in the art of popular preaching in the Jesuit Colleges. Confession was advocated as the best means of obtaining influence over individuals, and of gaining real power, instead of merely the

appearance of it.<sup>1</sup> Thus, while Ignatius discouraged his followers generally from accepting bishoprics, or other high posts in the Church, he trained them carefully to be confessors and directors of princes and the great. Therein he saw that real power lay. For a similar reason he soon took up the cause of higher education, in which the

<sup>1</sup> Ignatius Loyola and Francisco Xavier were both Basques. In the lives of both we can see the influence of Basque manners and customs.

The genealogy of the family of Loyola is given in the *Euskal-erria* of San Sebastian, tomo xlv, año de 1902, Nos. 774, 775, 776, in a series of articles: *Ensayo de un Padron Historico de Guipuzcoa segun el orden de sus familias pobladores*, by Don J. Carlos de Guerra. The genealogy begins in 1180 with the Señors of Oñaz, the third of whom married Iñes de Loyola. These families continued to intermarry, and the sixth señor built the castle (*torre* or *casa fuerte*) of Loyola towards the end of the fourteenth century. It was partially dismantled in 1457. Iñigo, or Ignatius, Loyola was the seventh child of a family of twelve of Beltran Yañez de Oñaz y Loyola (ix). One of his brothers became rector of one of the churches of Azpeitia. The others were all soldiers. His elder brother, Martin Garcia (xi.), entailed the estate and ennobled the family. One of his sons, Martin Garcia, joined the company of Jesus in 1551; with this exception none of the descendants took orders, and none of the daughters became nuns, but a cousin became *serora* of the Church of Azpeitia in 1595. In 1553 the heiress, Doña Lorenza de Oñaz y Loyola, married Juan de Borja (Borgia), second son of St. Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandia, Viceroy of Catalonia, and afterwards General of the Order of Jesuits. A son, Martin Garcia, married in Chili a noble Indian lady, their daughter was made Marchioness of Oropesa, and in 1681 the childless Marquis and Marchioness of Oropesa (xiv.) gave the house and estate of Loyola to the Queen-mother of Spain, Maria Anna of Austria, to found the Royal College of the Company at Azpeitia. Cf. also: *Averiguaciones de las Antigüedades de Cantabria*, por el P. Gabriel de Henao, S.J. Vols. v. vi. vii., 2nd edit. 7 vols. Lopez, Toledo, 1894, and *Nobiliario de los Palacios . . . de la Provincia de Guipuzcoa*, por D. Domingo de Lizaso, tomo 1, cap. ii. folio San Sebastian, 1901.

Society was afterwards so highly successful. This was no part of his original plan ; but, as soon as he perceived the hold thereby to be got on the higher classes, he embraced it eagerly ; and it was chiefly through their success in higher education that the Jesuits first gained, and then kept a footing in the Northern nations.

Herr Gothein gives a slightly different presentment of the character and work of Loyola from that which previous writers have done. He depends far more on the letters both of Ignatius and of Xavier, and of their correspondents, than he does on the formal biographies, even by contemporaries. He remarks that the Company, or Society, of Jesus was in its early days above all things a letter-writing Society. Loyola ruled it chiefly by his correspondence, and he exacted in return weekly reports from every establishment, and from all the chief members of his Order. Not quite so much stress is laid on the *exercitia spiritualia*, nor on the ascetic life at Manresa, nor on Ignatius as the devoted Knight of the Blessed Virgin, as is done by other biographers ; but it is shown how the *exercitia* were used to acquire intense concentration of thought, and consequently to attain a real mastery over the will, and power of directing it to a given end. This end was implicit obedience, an obedience not of the outward act only, but of the will itself, and, so to say, even of the heart. The command was to become the real choice of the person commanded, because it was commanded, however averse from his natural inclination it might be. No subterfuge of any kind was allowed on this point.

It is made clear, too, that the system, especially in its practical applications, did not, as is often thought, spring full-fledged from the brain of Loyola.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, he proceeded tentatively. Some of his early ideas were completely abandoned, such as the crusade to the Holy Land, and making Jerusalem the centre of the Society, and the conversion of Mohammedans the chief sphere of its action. This was afterwards directed more towards Protestant heretics, and the recovering of ground lost by the Church of Rome in Europe, and in wider mission-fields. So, too, the higher education, the other great instrument of the success of the Order, was an afterthought. In a similar light may be regarded the attitude of Loyola towards asceticism. He had personally carried this to the point at which the issue hovered between death, or insanity, or a possible, but improbable, recovery to health and sanity. He recovered, and seems never to have repeated such excesses. He reprobated them in his Order, and paid no regard at all to the reproaches cast on him on this account by the other religious Orders. He taught that when self-mastery, and true submission

<sup>1</sup> St. Juan de Avila, one of Loyola's correspondents afterwards, was about to found a Congregation or Order like that of the Jesuits; but "after all his preparations, Our Lord, leaving the learned and the masters, chose and made use of a soldier to raise a Company in His Name to do the work of this ministry." And it is mentioned as one of the excellencies of the saint that he never showed the slightest jealousy of the Jesuits, but esteemed them and helped them in every way. *Obras del Venerable Maestro Juan de Avila*. 2 vols. (Madrid, 1759). Vol. i. p. 151, and the letter of Loyola, p. 211; vol. ii. pp. 70 and 343-345.

of the will, and the spirit of perfect obedience, are once attained, then the body is not to be hindered by fasting or other austerities from doing its utmost work for God in the world. So, too, he would not allow dungeons or any undue corporal punishment in his colleges; he encouraged manly games, and paid the greatest attention to health and sanitary measures as far as then known. On the other hand, he freely resorted to expulsion of all unsuitable pupils. The door of exit was always open; he would have none but those whose unlimited obedience was of the will, who were proud of being Jesuits. So again in matters of ritual, however gorgeous and florid the ceremonies of later Jesuits may have become, this was not the desire of Ignatius. He was passionately fond of music, yet he would not allow musical Masses. He used to say that "one fond of choir singing may find plenty of other opportunities for it, besides the Mass," and that "the professed members of the Society must be always ready to march, and the coadjutors and scholars have too much to do in teaching and learning to be able to give diligent practice to music and singing." Nor did he approve of long services. The Mass was not to be longer than half-an-hour. A controller with hour-glass was placed near the Celebrant, and fined him for every minute beyond the appointed time. He did not hesitate to say that "to leave God in order to do God's will is a great advance in spiritual profit, and no loss."<sup>1</sup> Yet the Mass was

<sup>1</sup> A like rule is given in the *Institutio Spiritualis* of F. L. Blosius (1506-63). "Si asceta interim dum se intus

the main pillar of Loyola's teaching. When celebrating he became again the ecstatic mystic of the days of Manresa. As to frequency of Communion he considered daily Communion, as in the early Church, ideally the best, but in practice he neither praised nor blamed a daily Communion, but encouraged a weekly reception. He held that in this Communion he fed not only on the Flesh of Christ, but also therein of that of His Mother. Speaking of a vision on this subject, he wrote: "She (*i. e.* the B.V.M.) showed me, with so deep an insight that one cannot describe it, that in the Consecration, in the Flesh of her Son, her own is also present."

The secret spy system, and denunciation to the General by letter, our author considers to be fully proved; and also that of the existence of secret, or concealed Jesuits where necessary in peculiar circumstances, chiefly in entering a new district in which the presence of declared Jesuits might give rise to scandal or persecution. The other great reproach against the Order, of teaching that "the end justifies the means," is considered as not proven: the maxim is not found in any of Loyola's writings.

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exercet, evocetur, aut per obedientiam abire cogatur, non hoc indigne ferat, sed prompte hilariterque obediens, sic externa quæque peragat, ut interna non deserat. Nam semper se abnegare, semper resignatus manere debet, paratus pro Dei voluntate, et pro justa hominum petitione ac necessitate, relinquere consueta sua exercitia." *Opuscula Ascetica*, p. 193. (Lethielleux, Paris, 1899.) On the other hand, it is reckoned among the merits of a lately deceased bishop that he would never allow himself, for any stress of episcopal business whatever, to intermit, or to be called off from his accustomed spiritual exercises.



He was fond, however, of bidding his followers to "look not on the beginning of a business, but on its ending; not on the entrance, but on the exit;"<sup>1</sup>—a saying, be it noted, capable of a good meaning, and a practical rule of all government among the Basques, the people to whom Loyola belonged.

Concerning the Council of Trent, Herr Gothein remarks that there was no dominant personality there; but still he shows what great influence the Jesuits Salmeron and Lainez had in the deliberations. While evidently differing from him widely in opinion, he admires the marvellous dialectic skill, the subtlety and versatility of Lainez, his immense learning, and almost unlimited power of work. As to the principle on which he acted in the Council, he quotes the words of Nicholas of Cusa: "As the Church can change rites according to circumstances, so also (it can alter) the interpretation of Scripture in accordance with the necessity of the times"; and says: "That was the school . . . in which the greatest controversialists, the most learned defenders and systematizers of the Church were formed,"—meaning of course by "the Church," the Roman Catholic Church. Many in the Council were favourable to the giving of the Cup to the laity; but this was rejected after a speech from Lainez. "The words of the Consecration by Christ, on the meaning of which the Protestants laid so much stress, resolved themselves for the Jesuits into an interpretation which would have done honour to any Rationalist of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Eccles.* vii. 8.

eighteenth century. 'Drink ye all of it,' which Christ said only of the Cup, means that one person should not drink all."

Moreover, in the great debate on the source of episcopal authority and jurisdiction it was Lainez who did the greatest service to the Papacy, and laid the foundation of the modern claims and position of the Pope. It was not only the French and the Teutonic nations, and the party of reform which opposed the Papal claims in this respect. Our author well brings out the peculiar position of the Spanish Church. Spain, as he says, had been always clerical, but never ultramontane. The Spaniards revered the papal commands when on their side, but ignored them when opposed to them; and this semi-independence of the Spanish Church had been scarcely impugned by the Popes. Thus at the Council of Trent, the Spanish bishops, while the earnest defenders of the peculiarly Roman doctrines on most other points, yet contended strongly for the immediate divine right and authority of bishops. These received, they said, neither their authority nor their jurisdiction from the Pope alone. In his answer to these Spanish bishops Lainez laid the foundations of the modern doctrine of infallibility. "He so formulated and established it, that although the full victory was not possible at that time, a programme was at least set forth for the future, which might be untiringly followed out by his Society, until after centuries of contest and intrigues, in which they had always opposed to them the same adversaries, it has been finally carried out in our time." This

was the great victory for the Papacy in the Council of Trent, on which all the rest really depended. This and the establishment of diocesan seminaries for the training of the clergy have made the Church of Rome what it actually is.

Another most interesting chapter of the work is that on the Missions of the Roman Catholic Church. From this period of the Counter-Reformation date the two great missionary organizations of the Church of Rome, the Congregation of the Propaganda, founded by Gregory XV. in 1622, and the College of the Propaganda, founded by Urban VIII. in 1627. The story of Francisco Xavier, and his mission work, so well known, is told here chiefly from his own letters. Those who judge him by the verses ascribed to him in Hymn 106, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, will be surprised at the statement that "his dogmatic teaching had for its corner-stone the eternity of the punishment of hell"; but he made this the stimulus of his love to men. "It was worth everything to rescue souls from the devil, to snatch countless multitudes as quickly as possible from hell." Experience in his work changed his views in some respects as much as experience had changed those of Loyola. At first, he wrote for the Colleges in Europe to supply him with as many missionaries as possible. Much learning, he said, was not needed, for men who would be of little use in Europe might do good service among the heathen. But he soon had to alter his tone. "Most of those whom Rodriguez sent him had in a short time fallen victims to the fascina-

tions of the South, and were very quickly dismissed," and he would have no more men cast off by the colleges or rejected by the bishops. He then went almost into the opposite extreme, and wrote thus on the qualifications of a missionary :—

"Through earnest intercourse with experienced people he should gain information, not only about the usual vices and sins of the place in which he is to labour, but also about the whole course of popular life there, the common prejudices and inclinations of the people, the customs of the country, the form of government, the manner of business, the law codes and courts, the intrigues of the lawyers, in short, about everything which belongs to the general life and to the society of the place. All this a physician of the soul must know, if he is to make a right diagnosis, and to choose appropriate remedies; and this is to be gained only by versatility in intercourse with men, a presence of mind to which nothing comes unexpected, and the skill to gain respect from every one. The common people must see in the intercourse of daily life with such an one, that he is not less clever than themselves. They then admire him, and put confidence in him; otherwise they only ridicule the admonitions of a priest. Such knowledge as this cannot be got from dead books, only from life."

Xavier himself really did this. He was a merchant with merchants, a soldier with soldiers. He could assume any character with ease, and still pursue with yearning love and invincible patience the conversion of a single soul, or the souls of a multitude. But he never seems to have suspected how rare and how difficult such accomplishments are.

Our readers will have seen that this work upon the Counter-Reformation is not one to please the zealots of any party. The author does not touch the external and political work of the movement at all: the political history, the history of the Inquisition, of the various persecutions, of the religious wars, find no place in his narrative. He is a Lutheran, but writes from what the Germans call an "objective" point of view, striving to state the facts of history accurately and impartially, with as little colouring as possible from his own opinions. Nevertheless, these are apparent in the tone of the whole narrative. He gives the preference to Luther's work over that of Loyola. He speaks with the greatest reserve on the ethics of Jesuitism. But he sees that the Counter-Reformation in the Romish Church was really in part a true inner reformation of religion and morals, and that it was not a movement undertaken merely for the interests of the Church and of the Papacy, however much the latter may have gained by it. He estimates justly and fully the historical value of the work of Loyola and his followers in the Council of Trent, and in the Reform movement, and he is full of admiration for the vast ability of the early Jesuit leaders. One fact we may mention which seems to have escaped his pen. Portugal was the favourite country of the Jesuits in Europe; Paraguay was their chief success in mission work. Portugal was the first to expel them; hardly a trace remains of their work in Paraguay. Facts such as these should be remembered when we read of the extraordinary

cleverness of the Jesuits, and of the super-excellence of their system, even while they need not make us stint our admiration of the ability, the heroism, and the saintliness of many of the members of the Order.

I will only add what the Augustinian Father, M. F. Miguelez, writes of the Bull of Benedict XIV., April 1, 1758, and that of Clement XIV., July 21, 1773, decreeing the suppression and extinction of the Society of Jesus :—

“All these causes and many more contributed to rouse men’s minds more and more against the Company of Jesus. The Pope, unless he had closed his ears to the incessant clamours which reached his throne from all parts of the world, was obliged to take information, either by himself or through others, in order resolutely to decide upon the fitting remedy for such great evils. Historical probity requires us not to judge events *a priori*; nor, in order to defend a party attacked in its honour and reputation, to cast all the dark shadows on the opposite party which has not made its defence, or the defence of which no one has undertaken with full examination of the causes which led to its action. Are we to give greater credit to a single Corporation, however worthy of respect it may be, than to so many Cardinals, Bishops, and religious Communities, which manifested their detestation of the Company of Jesus? Are we, without proof, to suppose them animated with the most infamous rancor for the extermination of the Society of the Jesuits? Is it possible that such pious and learned persons should have plotted against them without manifest reasons which necessitated such a severe decision? Ah!

Jansenism! Jansenism! you reply. All were mistaken. Popes, Kings, Bishops, Corporations, all were Jansenists. The Company of Jesus was the victim of Jansenism.

"How easy and convenient is this method of writing history! But the dispassionate critic, who in the quiet of his study investigates the events which slowly led to that prosecution, who sees the well-founded cause which the Jesuits gave for that prosecution, must judge that event in a very different manner. What! If the Jesuits are altogether innocent, history ought to launch its anathema against the persecutors of whatever rank they may be. But, if they afforded reasons for this detestation, let us assign to each party what is justly due to it; let us not calumniate those who, guided by an honest zeal for the purity of religion, and alarmed by such great abuses, directed their arrows against the Company. It is certain, as I have shown above, that many were fishing in troubled waters, and under the cloak of religion and of reform, only brought to light their hatred of the Jesuits; the encyclopædists, the philosophers, those called, for good or ill, Jansenists, assailed them; but, to attack the reputation of all who were opposed to the Company, and to call them little less than heretics—this does not commend itself to the laws of fair reasoning."<sup>1</sup>

The recently published volume of M. Leon Mention, *Documents relatifs aux Rapports du Clergé avec la Royauté de 1705 à 1789*, ii. (Paris, Picard, 1903), gives a more favourable impression of the Jesuits in France, p. 220, *seq.*

<sup>1</sup> D. Manuel F. Miguelez, Agustino, *Jansenismo y Regalismo en España*, pp. 257-259. (Valladolid, 1895.)

## VI

### SANTA TERESA

*"Noli abscondere a me faciem tuam; moriar, ne moriar, ut eam videam."*—St. Augustin, *Confess.*, lib. i. 5.

*"Bonum mihi diligere  
Jesum, nil ultra querere,  
Mihi prorsus deficere,  
Ut illi queam vivere.*

Attributed to St. Bernard, but see note *supra*, p. 38.

*"Por no verte como quiero,  
Que muero porque no muero."*

Glosa de S. Teresa.

THERE are many types of holiness in the Church of God. All who follow the great Leader do not tread in exactly the same steps. Each can see and strive to imitate some portion of His divine excellencies; none can embrace or can imitate the whole. It was so from the very first in the Church. We see differences in the lives, the writings, the characters of the Apostles. Their view of truth, their standpoint, is not the same. St. James and St. Paul see different aspects of the same truth. The lives and characters of St. Peter and of St. John are almost in contrast. Three of the Evangelists regard our Lord from almost the same point of view; yet even here there is no uniformity. And how different the point of view of the fourth!



And so in studying the lives of the Saints in later ages of the Church, in different ages, in different countries, under varying circumstances, we are struck with a like dissimilarity. The type of sanctity is not the same in all. The East and the West will never think alike: the profound, yet subtle, and more contemplative thought of the Eastern Church will seem unpractical, in some aspects almost mischievous, to the more active and practical spirit of the West. How diverse sometimes are even neighbouring Churches! Egypt and Carthage both belong to Northern Africa. Yet what a contrast is there between the broad theology of the Alexandrian school and the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian, and St. Augustine! And so it is in succeeding centuries. Neither the aims, nor the ideal, so to speak, of the Church, neither its needs nor its practical efforts remain the same; and the task laid before it is not alike in all ages.

Herein lies the keynote to a due appreciation of Santa Teresa, the Spanish Saint whose life lights up one of the most gloomy periods of the Church—the time which is so well named, by one who lived through it, the time of the “Tribulation”;<sup>1</sup> when Spaniards were inflicting cruelties before unheard of on their fellow-countrymen in the sacred cause of Religion, when they were lavishing all their wealth, were risking life and honour and liberty, neglecting their own prosperity, sacrificing the leadership of the world, indifferent to all other result, if only they might crush out what they

<sup>1</sup> Rivadeneyra's *Tratado de la Tribulacion* is dated Nov. 10, 1589. Santa Teresa's life stretched from 1515 to 1582.

believed to be wrong, if they might by any means restore the unity of the Church in Europe. They failed. Their efforts brought them destruction :—destruction more fatal, decay and loss more sure, more complete, to themselves than to their immediate victims. But though the path of the storm seemed marked only by the lightning-flash, by the roll of thunder, by the rending bough, by the wind-driven rain, in the very centre of it all were spots of calm—where every tender herb could flourish, and the unfolding flower, with stem unbroken, lift its head towards God. If there be much to repel us in Spain of the sixteenth century, still she produced not only inquisitors and persecutors, not only merciless, yet conscientious bigots, like Philip II. and the Duke of Alba, not only Loyola and the Inquisition; she gave birth also to men like Luis de Granada, Luis de Leon, Juan de la Cruz, and women like Santa Teresa. In such a country, at such a time, under such circumstances, we must not expect to find the same types of holiness, the same ideals, which are our models to-day. There will be much with which we cannot sympathize, something which we may even condemn; yet it is ill with us if we do not recognize a love to our common Lord; if our hearts are not warmed in contact with the fire that burned so brightly, almost fiercely, in the hearts of these so far estranged from us; if we never say to ourselves: "Would that my love, my repentance, my humility, had been true and deep as theirs! Then I, too, might have made equal sacrifices for the Lord we love and serve."

Santa Teresa is one of the most attractive of these saints of a darkened age, as she was also one of the most lovable and fascinating of women. How great this fascination was, how strong the magnetic influence of her character still is, may be known by the fact that her latest biography, a work in many respects of singular literary merit, has been written by an unbeliever, by one who says that "Christianity is as a dream," that there is "a gulf" between her thought and the thoughts of one whose very saintliness repels her, for to her "sanctity and humanity seem contrasted epithets."<sup>1</sup> Yet, so strong is the attraction of Teresa's character, so vivid the admiration which she has excited even in one whose beliefs are if possible even more opposed to hers than the life of the cloisters of the sixteenth century in Spain is opposed to that of "advanced" society in the drawing-rooms of nineteenth-century England, that we have seldom read a biography written with more enthusiasm, or in stronger sympathy with at any rate some of the aims and characteristics of the personality sketched before us.

We cannot tell here at length the story of Teresa's life. She herself has set it forth, in an inimitable manner, in the autobiography which she compiled in obedience to her confessor, in the *Libro de las Fundaciones de las Hermanas Descalzas Carmelitas* and in her Letters. We can know no one better than we know this woman. Born in the old-world

<sup>1</sup> *Santa Teresa: Being some Account of her Life and Times, together with some pages from the History of the last Great Reform in the Religious Orders.* By Gabriela Cunningham-Graham. 2 vols. (London, Adam and Charles Black, 1894.)

town of Avila, of good family, she was brought up with such an inbred consciousness of her nobility that, as she tells us, before her conversion the fear of staining the honour of her house was more powerful than her fear of God; and this self-respect remained with her through life. Humble as she learned to be, never thinking anything or any office too mean for her, yet she could write to Philip II. and treat with the greatest nobles of her day, with easy, graceful dignity, giving fullest honour where honour was due, yet ever as one who could claim a like title for herself. Her mother died when she was twelve years old. Her father, a deeply religious man, one to whom she could look up with utmost reverence and love, was sorely embarrassed what to do with his children, with the natural consequence that they were practically left to themselves. Fond of reading, the girl's imagination was soon on fire with wild fancies drawn from the romances of chivalry, and from the scarcely less extravagant lives of the Saints. How, saturated with the spirit of religious devotion, Teresa wandered one day with her little brother, outside the walls of Avila, on a self-imposed mission to convert the Moors, and to suffer martyrdom, is an old tale. The children were brought back home, and soon learned the absurdity of such an attempt, but the spirit of self-sacrifice which had prompted it did not die away. By nature Teresa was a mystic. To her, as to all mystics, it was useless to asseverate that the seen and the temporal are the only real, and that knowledge comes to us through the senses alone. In her ears, even when a child, there rang

the words "For ever!" and her lips echoed back the cry, "For ever, ever, ever!" Silently she brooded over this unseen world, with its momentous issues, not for time but for eternity. She lived in spirit among these realities, and yet they did not render her gloomy, or selfish, or sullen, or self-absorbed. The fear of God and of hell seems ever to have been united in her with the over-mastering love of God and love of man. She hears dimly, and probably in sadly-distorted reports, of the heresy of the Lutherans in Germany, of the ravages of the Huguenots in France; but she does not invoke on them the fires of the Inquisition. There is no cry for vengeance in her heart, but instead was roused a passion of love and of self-sacrifice: "I was deeply afflicted. As if I could do anything, or was anything! I wept with the Lord, and besought Him to remedy so great an evil. It seemed to me that I would have given a thousand lives to succour one soul among the numbers that were there going to perdition."

It was almost inevitable that, in such an age, and in such society, Teresa should become a nun. Deeply instructive is her account of what she found convent life to be;—how almost every rule was disregarded, and the life of the nuns, though not really vicious, was as vain and worldly as that of women of the world. She found here temptations as great, or greater, than any which she had found in her father's house, and among his servants and dependents. For awhile she went with the stream; then the awakening came. This was not the life for which she had left the world. This was no

true service of God. This could not satisfy intellect, or conscience, or heart. The old longing of her childhood for self-sacrifice returned with tenfold force. No self-mortification, no act of self-denial, no humiliation, seemed to her to be too great, if only it might draw her nearer to God, if only it might help her to express her love to Him, and in and by its expression increase that love. The body soon gave way under austerities and self-torture, and still more under the pressure of anxiety and sorrow on account of her own and others' sins. Her courage never failed ; it gave her strength to do and bear what would have killed or maddened one of less valour. But her nervous system felt the strain, and hysterical or cataleptic trances came over her. The boundaries between subjective and objective fact became confused : external and internal impressions could not be distinguished. She never knew, or was herself certain, whether her visions were perceived in the soul alone, or really seen or heard with her bodily senses. Whether in the body or out of the body she could not tell, but she believed that in some way God spoke to her, and she was resolved to follow Him.

What grieved her most of all was the state of the convents of her Order ;—the lives of those who had withdrawn themselves from the world, who had bound themselves by vows, voluntarily, to be religious, *i.e.* devoted to God, yet who lived like women of the world. She compared the mode of life which she saw before her with her own ideal of what it should have been, and with the rule of the early Carmelites, and saw how wide was the

difference, how great the fall. She first practised strictness of rule herself, and then resolutely set herself to bring back the convent life to what she deemed it ought to be. It was a stupendous task. She had at first only two associates. All the superiors of the Order, both men and women, she knew would be against her. She would not begin in disobedience, and she had therefore to wait until her task was sanctioned by her confessor.

And here we must notice a current misconception of what conventual life was meant to be, why monasteries were founded, what their object and purpose really was. Mrs. Cunningham Graham, like many another who has adopted the worship of Humanity in one of its many forms, while wholly antagonistic to their true spirit, can yet write eloquently, and with sentimental gush about the philanthropic use of monasteries, and in harmless satire compare them with the workhouses of our day, and the efforts now made for the amelioration of the poor. She declares that the great monastic Orders were "an unmixed benefit to the poor . . . to the dependents and the labourers who lived within the shadow of their gates." "Monasticism," she tells us, "was not then the anachronism it has since become. It was the natural and spontaneous outburst of society ; nay, the highest and most beneficent model of it. It kept alive the brotherhood of man ; it interposed a constant barrier between the oppression of the monarch on the one side, and the people on the other. If they owned an altogether disproportionate share of power and wealth, they wielded the power wisely and well." And

again : "There is no recorded instance of the great religious corporations, the clergy and the monasteries, having been accused of aggression on, or exaction from, the vassals who farmed their vast possessions. In this one respect, and let us honour them for it, they acted up to the spirit of Jesus."

All this is doubly untrue. The great monasteries of the early Middle Ages did undoubtedly benefit agriculture, and did assist the poor. But it is wrong to imply that a monastery was ever founded to serve as an almshouse, a hospital, or a philanthropic institution for the poor. There were plenty of such institutions in the Middle Ages, and later ; but these were not monasteries nor convents, and this was not the design and end for which convents were built. Again, it is wrong to say that when the monasteries became possessors of landed wealth, "they never were accused of aggression, or exactions from the vassals who farmed their vast possessions." The whole history of landed property in Spain might be quoted against any such flattering statement.<sup>1</sup> In the very district in which I write, the sole complaint of feudal oppression in the *Cahier du Tiers état*, in 1789, was from the dependents of a Spanish monastery ; and these exactions are described as felt the more because "les habitants de la Province ont toujours été très-religieux, et que les Seigneurs qui les perçoivent sont des Ecclésiastiques."<sup>2</sup> It is to read the ideas

<sup>1</sup> See, among other works, *Ensayo sobre la Historia de la Propiedad Territorial en España*, por D. Francisco de Cárdenas. 2 vols. (Madrid, 1872.) Vol. ii. p. 263 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Cahier des Vœux et Instructions des Basques-Français*, etc., 1789. New edition (Bayonne, 1874), p. 36.



of an ill-defined socialism of the latter part of the nineteenth century into the story of the sixteenth to interpret thus the life of the convent and monastery of old. There is not a trace that the feeding of the poor was a preoccupation of Santa Teresa in the foundation of her convents. The Carmelites were and are essentially a contemplative Order. Feeding the poor might come in, as it were, by accident, it might be an accessory ; but it was no conscious aim or end of the monastic life. In the sixty-eight counsels which Teresa gives to her nuns, there is not one which refers to this kind of charity to the poor. All may be summed up in the last : " Let thy desire be to see God : thy fear to lose seeing Him : thy grief not to enjoy the vision : thy joy all that can raise thee thither, and thou wilt live in great peace." This is the real aim of conventual or monastic life, with its never-ceasing round of worship and of prayer.

In face of the multiplicity of monasteries, and of their vast possessions, one of the mistakes that Santa Teresa made, though perhaps it was unavoidable, was that, instead of reforming the convents already established, and eliminating the corrupt and useless foundations, her work took the shape of adding fresh houses, and thus almost of multiplying the evil. What this evil has been in Spain is written large in her history. " Why," inquired the present writer, of an intelligent inhabitant upon the French frontier, a short while ago—" Why is there so much poverty and misery on that side of the frontier, while you are so well off on this ? The soil of that village seems as good,

and the position is better than this one. What is the reason of the great difference?" "I have often thought about it," was the answer, "I cannot tell you what makes all the difference, but I can tell you what makes part of it. The two villages are about the same in population. Counting the *curé* and the postman, we have only thirteen idle mouths to feed in this parish. All the rest who are able to work, are doing something for their livelihood. Over there, what with clergy, sisters, and their hangers-on, there are eighty-three souls who do nothing for themselves, and whom the others have to feed." And this is true of Spain as a whole. It remains a problem, whether, considered in its relation to the poor, monasticism does not create the pauperism which it would fain relieve. "Now there is less enthusiasm for asylums, our hopes of their usefulness have been deceived; good patriots ought now to employ their wealth, by usefully making the necessary advances (of capital) to the end that industrious artisans may find honourable occupation, and that vagabonds may not have the excuse of not having work, nor wish to live idly on the revenues of an ill-considered charity."<sup>1</sup> This does not apply, indeed, to Santa

<sup>1</sup> En el día en que hay ménos entusiasmo por hospicios, cuya utilidad ha burlado las esperanzas, deben recurrir los buenos patricios à sus caudales, adelantando con utilidad las sumas necesarias para que los aplicados artesanos hallen honesta ocupacion y los vagos no tengan la excusa de que no encuentran que trabajar y quieran vivir ociosamente sobre el fondo de una caridad mal entendida. Traggia, art, *Estella*, s.v. p. 269.

*Diccionario Geográfico-Historico de España*, por la Real Academia de la Historia. Seccion I. Navarre, Vizcaya, Alava y Guipuzcoa. Tomo I. (Madrid, 1802.)

Teresa's work, but to Mrs. Graham's dictum that "monasteries were an unmixed benefit to the poor."

Although the reform undertaken by our saint was a wholly internal reform, though she aimed at nothing more than strictly to follow out the rule of her Order, though her orthodoxy was never seriously called in question, though her obedience to her superiors was complete and unqualified, though the means which she employed were all legal, and her patience was exemplary; yet her task of reform was none the less full of difficulty and of danger. At every step she encountered the most violent opposition and contradiction, not only from the worldly, but from really good men, who should have helped her. She received, however, unexpected help from other quarters. It is strange to note in the history of the Church in Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, how much more earnest the civil and lay authorities often were in the work of reform than the heads of the Church and of the religious Orders. So in the case of Santa Teresa, the chiefs of her Order, its provincial assemblies, the archbishops and bishops, the Papal Nuncio, were all averse to her reform. All her efforts might have been frustrated but for the goodwill of Philip II., and the patronage of the Duke and Duchess of Alba, of the Mendozas, and others of the nobility; while, troublesome as she afterwards became, even the Princess of Eboli assisted her to overcome some of her early difficulties. A good deal has been written of late years about the opposition encountered by our early Tractarians

and Ritualists, and some seem to fancy that reforms of such a kind are always welcomed in the Church of Rome. Very differently does Santa Teresa's story read. It was not only legal opposition which she and her agents had to encounter, not only the inertia and conservatism of habit that she had to contend against, or denunciation (happily fruitless) to ecclesiastical authorities, and to the Inquisition, or slander and misrepresentation to the King and to the Pope, or the mistaken and mischievous blundering of pious and well-intentioned prelates. All this was bad enough; but there would have been some alleviation if she had met with justice, fairness, and helpfulness at the hands of the chiefs of her own Order. Yet these, in their opposition, stayed not even at crime and savage cruelty. Again and again her friends or agents were forced to go into hiding among the mountains. No cell in any of the convents of their Order, no house in any town, was a safe abode for them. Gracian, her chief helper, had to lie hid for months. On his visitation of her convents he had to eat nothing but boiled eggs lest his food should be poisoned. St. Juan de la Cruz, one of the gentlest of men, and well-nigh the first religious poet in Spain, was, with a fellow-monk, arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned for nine months, and so savagely scourged that his shoulders were maimed for the remainder of his days, and this without having committed any legal offence whatever.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Obras espirituales de San Juan de la Cruz*. Nueva edicion por D. Juan Manuel Orti y Lara. 2 tomos. T. i. p. 51 *seq.* (Madrid, 1872.)

What should we have thought of any such treatment in the case of Keble ; or if Newman had lived in fear of poison, or Pusey been compelled to hide in the Welsh mountains?

In spite of all malice and opposition, however, she succeeded at last, and was able to write the book of the *Foundations* of her sixteen convents,—every one of them founded in tears and pain, in humiliation and distress, mostly in poverty, amid trials and difficulties which would have crushed one of less valiant heart, of less firm dependence upon God. She did all her work in weakness ; she learnt at last almost to love her feebleness and suffering, for she had experienced, with St. Paul, that “when I am weak, then am I strong.” Yet it would be unwise to overlook her natural qualifications, her great natural ability for the work which she accomplished. Her high birth helped her greatly ; the inbred dignity and tact, the traditional self-respect, the innate sense of honour, which never refused the utmost respect to others, yet never stooped to flattery—all these gifts gave her power with the great. At the same time no task was beneath her. She would sweep the convent floors, or cook and serve the meals. Almost fastidious in her personal cleanliness, she would dress in the oldest habit, her true humility lending grace and dignity to everything she did. With all her self-sacrifice, asceticism, scourgings and self-torture, her fastings, and endurance of hunger and cold and storm ; ill-fed, ill-lodged, ill-clothed, worn out with fatigue and want of sleep, with nerves continually overwrought, still she is

never dull or morose.<sup>1</sup> She preserves a keen sense of the ridiculous ; she can laugh and joke at the humorous side of her troubles ; her religion is always of the cheerful sort. She writes sometimes as if she despised all learning and literary skill ; with all her powers of composition she had no literary vanity. Yet on occasion she can use her poetic gifts ; she can compose a carol, or a gloss in verse, or indict the kindest but keenest criticisms on the composition of her friends in a tournament of wit. As a writer of prose, and especially as a letter-writer, she stands in the highest rank among her countrymen. As a poet, she reminds us of Blake. There is the like mysticism, at times the same exquisite simplicity and grace, at other times again the like dark doggerel ; yet few readers of her poetry would not wish there were more of it. In her letters the distinguishing quality perhaps is that which Tennyson has marked as the climax of "the crown and head, the stately flower of female fortitude"—

" A most silver flow  
Of subtle-paced counsel in distress,  
Right to the heart and brain, tho' undescried,  
Winning its way with extreme gentleness  
Thro' all the outworks of suspicious pride."

It is hard to convey in another language the

<sup>1</sup> She does not renounce all family and natural affections ; she pets her motherless younger brother with all the half maternal condescension and solicitude of an elder sister. She exchanges with him presents of sweetmeats, fish, fruit, and other delicacies ; and gets leave for him to go to a convent in Seville and look at a wonderful kitchen-range for her.

delicate tact and gracefulness of the originals, but we may quote a paragraph from a letter written to the General of her Order, to plead for indulgence for herself and Gracian in their work of reform. Never would she admit that they were doing wrong in thus acting. She addresses him by his title "Your Paternity"; but as the words seem strange in English, we will substitute for them "Father":—

"Consider, Father, that it is the part of children to err, and of fathers to forgive, and not to look too closely at faults. For the love of our Lord I ask you, Father, to do me this grace. See in how many ways it might be fitting. Consider that perhaps, at a distance, you cannot know all particulars so well as I who am on the spot; and although we women are no use in counsel, yet sometimes we hit the mark. I cannot see that any harm can come from this [work], and, as I say, there may be much profit; and I do not think, Father, that there can be any harm in admitting to indulgence those who would gladly throw themselves at your feet if they were present; God ceases not to pardon; and it should give you pleasure to know that the reform is being made by one who is your own subject. In consideration of this, you will delight in pardoning him."<sup>1</sup>

Or take this letter to Luis de Granada, the greatest of all the devotional writers of Spain of that day. She writes to ask him for his prayers, and she ventures to do so because a friend has

<sup>1</sup> *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesus*. Tercera Serie. Tomo i. carta xiii. p. 116. (Biblioteca Católica, Barcelona, 1845.)

bidden her. She begins the letter, as she does usually, with the heading "Jesus"—

"May the grace of the Holy Spirit be always with you, Father. Amen. Of the many who love you in the Lord, for having written such holy and profitable doctrine, and who give thanks to God for having taught it you for the so great and general good of souls, I am one. And I think with myself that no difficulty would have hindered me from going to see and hear the words of one who gives me such consolation, if it had been fitting to my condition, and for me as a woman. But for this reason I should have sought the company of persons like yourself in order to allay the fears in which my soul has lived for many years. And though I have not deserved to do this, yet I console myself with the fact that Don Teutonio has ordered me to write this letter, which otherwise I should not have dared to do. But, resting on this obedience, I hope in the Lord that it will turn out to my profit." . . .

Then at the close, after expressions of her great unworthiness, she says—

" . . . Yet, such as I am, I have often dared to ask of the Lord that your life, my Father, may be very long. May it please God to grant me this request, and that you may go on increasing in holiness, and in His love. Your unworthy servant and subject, Teresa de Jesus, Carmelite."<sup>1</sup>

It must have been hard to resist a woman who pleaded thus.

But we have not yet got to the source and spring of Santa Teresa's life. She was, above all

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* Carta xiv. p. 122.



else, a woman of prayer, a woman of holy desires and of love to God. We may perhaps think that her divisions of the different kinds, steps, and degrees of prayer are forced and artificial. This kind of subtlety was the fashion of her age. We may think that she sometimes confuses physical, nervous, or mental excitement with real spiritual elevation. Yet when we see how her humility and her sense of unworthiness ever deepen as she draws nearer to God, we cannot doubt that her prayers were answered, and that here was the secret spring and source of all her holiness, of all the good she did, or attempted to do. Then we can understand how this woman, whose life for many years was one of inward solitude, who stood alone, misrepresented and misunderstood by most, even by the good, in feeble health, with shattered nerves, with no pecuniary resources, against the opposition of the superiors of her Order, in spite of all difficulties and all contradiction, at last succeeded, and changed the thoughtless, worldly convents of her time into homes of prayer and worship, into abodes of genuine self-sacrifice, of love to God, and of love to man. In her Breviary these simple lines (*letrilla*) were found inscribed as a mark. They show whence her fortitude sprang :—

*Nada te turbe,  
Nada te espante,  
Todo se pasa;  
Dios no se muda,  
La Paciencia  
Todo lo alcanza;  
Quien á Dios tiene  
Nada le falta :*

Let nothing disturb thee,  
Let nothing dismay,  
All things pass away ;  
God changeth never,  
Patience in pain  
Everything will attain ;  
To God who doth cling  
God sufficient will bring :

*Solo Dios basta.*God alone makes abound,  
No lack in Him found.

Another celebrated hymn has been attributed to Santa Teresa: the original of No. 106 in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, "My God, I love Thee." It appears in two forms: in Spanish as a sonnet, "A Cristo crucificado," "No me mueve, mi Dios, para quererte," generally attributed either to Santa Teresa, or to Fray Pedro de los Reyes; and in Latin: "O Deus! Ego amo Te," from which the English version is derived. This Latin form is usually ascribed either to Loyola, or to S. François Xavier, but it is considered to be a translation from the Spanish, or suggested by it.<sup>1</sup>

Yet with all this Santa Teresa was not exempt from the mistakes of women. In the bestowal of her affection she was led rather by her heart than by her head. It was not to the best and greatest, to the most talented and most spiritual of her companions, that she gave the chief place in her thoughts and heart. Incomparably the first among them all was St. Juan de la Cruz, the little friar who again and again did her yeoman's service, and who turned the tide in her favour at the most dangerous crisis. Yet she never writes to, and of, him, as she does of the comparatively weak and worthless Gracian. She has no such solicitude about his health and comfort, no longing for his presence. She never pleads with the great for the advancement and glory of St. Juan de la Cruz

<sup>1</sup> *Le Sonnet à Cristo crucificado*, par R. Foulché-Delbosc, in the *Revue Hispanique*, 2<sup>e</sup> année, 1895, pp. 120-145. (Picard, Paris, 1895.)

as she does for that of Gracian, and she never praises him to others as she does the lesser saint. We hardly like Teresa less for this: it is pleasant to see her thus womanly. We might admire her the more if she were more perfect, but we might also love her less.

## VII

### JUAN DE VALDÉS AND MIGUEL DE MOLINOS : A STUDY IN MYSTICISM

AT all times in the Christian Church there have been two classes of believers : they whose ideal of Christian life on earth is that it should be a continual worship of God ; they who think that all worship on earth is rather a means than an end, and that its true purport is to influence the actions and conduct of Christian life. Neither of these propositions is wholly false, nor does the one necessarily exclude the other ; but they who adopt the former proposition as their end in life, and especially those of this class who deem the secret intimate communion of the individual soul to be the highest form of worship of Almighty God—these are they who, for want of a better term, we term *Mystics*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metaphysicians dispute whether the idea of infinity is positive, or negative only. May not the answer be, that to the mystic infinity is a positive thing, the only thing real ; while to the non-mystic it may be purely negative ? To the former the infinite is the *necessary* complement of the finite ; he cannot conceive the finite existing apart from the infinite. The infinite seldom troubles the mind of the non-mystic at all. Unless when forced upon him by religious teaching, he is not consciously influenced by it, and remains indifferent to it.

The two conditions of mind of the Mystic and of the practical Christian do not absolutely exclude one another. It is only as one or the other predominates in the character that we can class a man on the one side or the other. Perhaps there are few earnest Christians who have not, at least for some moments, felt their soul lying, as it were, passive before God, shut out from the world and from all thoughts of self, seeking only to receive from Him impressions of His greatness, His holiness, or His love—moments when all the interests and ambitions of time seemed utterly absorbed and forgotten in contemplation of eternity, and the relations between God and the individual soul the only things worth engaging man's thought. This, in some form or other, is no rare experience. It is often aimed at by those whose natural temperament hardly admits of such feelings, certainly, at least, not of the adequate expression of them. Hence it is, perhaps, by those striving to be mystics, to whom all power of imagination and poetic expression is denied, that we see books written, especially by American authors, in which the future state is depicted only as a repetition of what the authors loved best on earth. Thus, on the one hand, we have heaven imagined as a glorified New-England village by writers of the United States, and, on the other hand, as antitype of the scenes of Pyrenean pilgrimage, as in M. E. Pouvillon's *Mystère, Bernadette de Lourdes*. On the other hand, true mysticism may be often found among the rude and illiterate, who can hardly express their ideas in speech, still less in writing. "Can you

tell me what particular thing led to your conversion?" asked a clergyman of a humble member of his congregation. "Why, sir, it was hearing Mr. — read one morning in church, 'As the Lord of hosts liveth, before whom I stand.'" "Those are striking words; but I do not see how they led to your conversion." "Don't you see, sir? 'before whom I stand,'—*I felt myself standing before God.*"<sup>1</sup> This unlettered man was a far truer mystic than many who have tried to write themselves as such.

The greatest mystics have often been the greatest men in practical life: St. Augustine, St. Bernard, St. François de Sales, St. Teresa, were all great in practical life. Even one of those to whom the *De Imitatione Christi* has been attributed, Gerson, Chancellor of the Sorbonne, lived a life of extreme practical activity. The very sect among us, one side of whose religious system is most akin to mysticism, though not of the highest kind—the Friends, or Quakers—are distinguished by their successful conduct of practical affairs. In fact, it would seem that the contact with practical life, whether by choice or compulsion, preserves from half of the dangers which beset an exclusive devotion to the mystical side of religion. The

<sup>1</sup> "In a case of which the present writer has private knowledge, a young man, Christian by training, and Christian by subsequent conviction, in the first rush of the experience of conversion was conscious of a sudden and instantaneous sense of God's all-encompassing presence, without at first finding anything in his feelings to correspond to what he had been taught about Christ or His atonement." C. C. J. Webb in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, October 1902, p. 59.

early monastic orders well understood this, with their grand motto, *Laborare est orare*; and even the hermits of the Thebaid were employed in basket-making.

For mysticism has its dangers, which are perhaps more subtle than those which attend any other habit of religious exercise. And here I must mark off from mysticism all mere speculative psychology or Platonism on the one hand; all merely subjective superstition, and all devotional study or meditation, which aims at directly influencing practical religious life, on the other. Mysticism may exist in almost all religions, or even in the negation of all religion. It is no peculiar product of Christianity; it is found to a still greater degree in Mohammedanism, in Buddhism, and in many another Oriental religion. It is seen too in poets like Shelley and Clough, in men like Amiel, whose religion it would be very difficult to define. But I deal here simply with the mysticism of those who believe in the historical truths of Christianity; who, believing intensely in the Personality of the Triune God, attempt to lay their souls passive before Him, and to learn directly of Him with no human aid intervening. Beautiful as this mysticism is, fascinating beyond all else as are its joys, full of rapture its delights, it is yet, if we may so say, the flower, and not the fruit which the Christian life should bear. A Christian life wholly without mysticism would be as shrubs and plants without flowers, as the earth without an atmosphere to soften into beauty every harsh outline, to blend the too glaring colours into hues of refreshment for

the else wearied eye. But it is evident that this mental attitude is open to great delusions. We may be so enraptured with the beauty of the flower, as to forget that its proper function is to bring forth seed or fruit. And as mysticism approaches to intensity in application, as in all cases of strain upon the emotional or imaginative parts of our nature—from the endeavour to put ourselves into a fixed, determined attitude, apart from all external things, even from the mere physical excitement or exhaustion which such an effort induces—the danger becomes great of confusing subjective impressions with objective realities, of putting thoughts and emotions in the place of deeds, of confounding desires with accomplishment, and of mistaking visions of our own framing for revelations from God. The peril is heightened when, in a poetical temperament, the glory of the subjective visions leads to contempt of earthly duties, as if they had not even a relative importance as compared with the things of eternity, and the true import and value of an active life in Christ here below utterly vanishes. In this state of mind, if, as has so often happened, mysticism and casuistry meet, and the contempt of the body and of the flesh lead to a contempt of its sins, the results are most sad; and it is also evident that in any mental state in which subjective impressions and emotions may habitually be mistaken for objective realities, we are treading, for the time at least, on the verge of what may become insanity.

These remarks have been suggested by the perusal of some of the works of two Spanish



authors of widely different schools of religious thought ; both mystics, separated in date ; but the circumstances of whose lives were very similar, and the history of the reception of whose works by members of the Church of England is both interesting and instructive. The works to which we allude are the *Considerations, Commentaries, and Tracts* of Juan de Valdés ;<sup>1</sup> *Molinos the Quietist*, by John Bigelow (New York) ; and the *Golden Thoughts from the Spiritual Guide of Miguel Molinos*, with a preface by J. H. Shorthouse. The names both of Valdés (Valdesso) and of Molinos have become known in societies which would generally not trouble themselves with a thought on religious mysticism, through the fascinating pages of the romance, *John Inglesant*.

The works both of Juan de Valdés and of Miguel de Molinos, though Spaniards, are much better known in Italian versions than in the native tongue of the writers. The Spanish original of Molinos (if it be really the original) is one of the rarest of books ; and the Castilian of many of Juan de Valdés' works has been discovered only in our own day. Valdés wrote at Naples from 1533 to 1541. Molinos published his *Spiritual Guide* at Rome in 1675. The latter, however, is said to

<sup>1</sup> Translated by John T. Betts, Esq. ; published by Messrs. Trübner and Co., London. The *Trataditos de Juan de Valdés*, and *El Salterio, traduzido del hebreo en Romance Castellano*, por Juan de Valdés, ahora por primera vez impreso, were printed (Carlos Georgi, Bonn, 1880) at the expense of D. Fernando Brunet, of San Sebastian. This version of the Psalms is highly praised by Menendez y Pelayo for the beauty of its style. *Historia de los Heterodoxos*, iii. 845.

have found his most numerous followers at Naples also ; whether there is any secret connection between this fact and the earlier reception of Juan de Valdés' doctrines there is still to be traced. Molinos was arrested and condemned by the Inquisition in Rome in 1685, and died in prison, December 28, 1696, at the age of seventy. Valdés died in peace at Naples in 1541 ; but some of his followers, notably Carnessechi, were beheaded and burnt in 1567.

The history of the introduction of Valdés' works into England in the seventeenth and in the nineteenth centuries is very curious. Though his opinions on most points of theology are not in accordance with those generally received in the Church of England, yet it was by such faithful Churchmen as Nicholas Ferrar and George Herbert that his *Considerations* were first translated into English. Ferrar indeed hesitated, but Herbert wrote to him in 1638 : " I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein : First, that God, in the midst of Popery, should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly and excellently the intent of the Gospel in the acceptation of Christ's righteousness (as he sheweth through all his *Considerations*) ; a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he everywhere bears towards our dear Master and Lord, concluding every *Consideration* almost with His holy Name, and setting His merit forth so piously, for which I do so love him, that were there

nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life, about mortification, and observation of God's kingdom within us, and the working thereof, of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in this author, and overweigh the defects (as I conceive) towards the publishing thereof." With much more consistency, as we shall see, his works have been collected, translated, and published both in Spanish and in English by the Friends, Wiffen, Usoz,<sup>1</sup> J. Betts in England, and by Dr. Boehmer in Germany. What makes it more strange that Ferrar and his friends should have adopted Valdés is, that already Beza had earnestly repudiated solidarity with him on account of his teaching on inspiration; and other Continental Protestants had, with much less reason, accused him of Arian tendencies.

Juan de Valdés, with his twin brother, Alfonso,

<sup>1</sup> Don Luis Usoz y Rio was a Navarrese gentleman of literary tastes, who was converted to Quakerism by reading Barclay's (1648-1690) *Apology*, which had been turned into Spanish in 1710 by F. Antonio de Alvarado, who had already translated The Book of Common Prayer, *Liturgia Inglesa*, 1709. D. Luis Usoz bore the expense of the publication of the first twenty volumes of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, many of which he edited. The whole of the subsequent work of Wiffen, Betts, Brunet, Boehmer, and others may be said to be due to his initiative, for which he has hardly received sufficient credit in England. Menendez y Pelayo calls him "un protestante arqueológico." Cf. Menendez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, vol. iii. pp. 100-1, and the Section, "Un cuáquero Español," p. 675; also *The Brothers Wiffen*, by T. R. Pattison, p. 106 *seq.* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1880.) Wiffen's papers are now in the library of Wadham College, Oxford.

was employed about the court of Charles V. It is an example of a fact which, as far as we know, has never been adequately explained, that Spaniards of the highest rank and abilities, laymen and ecclesiastics, who more or less favoured the doctrines of the Reformers, gathered to the court of the monarch who was the greatest opponent of the Reformation. Juan and Alfonso de Valdés seem to have been patterns of the highest culture of their day. They might have stood beside the Surreys and Sydneys of the courts of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth, and not have feared the comparison. Alfonso wrote comparatively little, and that what might be called official papers. Juan de Valdés was a much more prolific author, and in every line he wrote we feel the scholar and the gentleman. A friend of Erasmus, his *Dialogo de la Lengua*, written at Naples in 1536, though not published till 1737, is one of the best philological treatises of his time, and contains suggestions which have been fully worked out only by scholars of our own day. It was this union of the scholar and the gentleman in his style, so free from the elaborate conceits and affectation which spoil so much of the writing of that date, which doubtless attracted Herbert and Ferrar, themselves such excellent specimens of this union, and which led them to overlook deficiencies in his teaching, defects which they would hardly have tolerated in one whose style was more coarse and his expression less chaste and refined.

For Juan de Valdés held in their extreme extent some of the doctrines advocated by Tertullian after he had become a Montanist, which were revived by

the Friends or Quakers, and which are still more exaggerated by some of the Plymouth Brethren and kindred sects now. We must not, however, expect to be able to draw up a regular or consistent system of theology from the works of Valdés ; this he never really formulated himself. We can give only a slight sketch of some of the more distinctive features of his teaching. In regard to the Scriptures, Juan de Valdés is very far from the so-called Bibliolatry, and from the doctrine of verbal inspiration, held by so many of the Reformers. In discussing St. Paul's writings he clearly holds that the inspiration of the Apostles differs in degrees only, and not in kind, from that of the ordinary Christian. He does not put the faith that comes from the Scriptures at all on an equality with that which comes from inward light and inspiration. Thus he says : " The faith which comes from man's report or from the Scriptures, will never plant them in the kingdom of God." His criticism in his *Commentaries* is in accordance with this. He notes a passage as interpolated, not from any objective evidence of MSS. versions, quotations in the Fathers, or the like, but simply because it does not agree with his own exegesis. So in difficult passages he has no hesitation in saying that the writer is confused, that it is impossible to understand him, that his language is hyperbolical inflation, or that it is only an accommodation to his hearers. Some of his mistakes in interpretation, however, show how thoroughly he thought in Greek and Latin ; thus in 1 Cor. xiv. 14, "'My spirit prayeth,' he means the voice, the breath that proceeds from my

mouth." At other times his renderings are very happy. He holds strongly the doctrine of particular election, that the Gospel was only given for, and should be preached only to, the elect. On 1 Cor. ii. 6, "It (the wisdom of the Gospel) is of such a nature that it is not preached, save where it is practised, and even then not to all, but only to the perfect." So on 1 Cor. ii. 10, "I do not understand by the words 'unto us' that he means Christians generally, since those of Corinth, who were Christians, did not attain it; but only and distinctively to those Christians who were perfect, etc.;" but especially on 1 Cor. vii. 37, 38, "And here I shall not refrain from stating this, that the greatest danger that has accrued to Christianity has, in my opinion, arisen from men having desired to treat it as affecting the many, whilst it is the concern but of few, and indeed but very few. God wills that it concerns them whom He calls, them whom He elects and sets apart for Himself; whilst men desire that it shall concern them whom they call, and whom they would fain introduce into Christianity, they destroy and they ruin it; but it is not for me to correct this." It is this view which perhaps determined Juan de Valdés' peculiar attitude of a teacher unveiling esoteric doctrines to a select circle, rather than of a preacher seeking to convert the multitude. The doctrine of imputation he holds in its most extreme form. He speaks constantly of men "held to be saints." Thus of 2 Cor. v. 20 he writes: "We beg you to hold yourselves as pardoned by God, as reconciled with God, as just, as friends of God"; and again, "All they

who . . . hold themselves to be reconciled to God are the children of Abraham, for they imitate Abraham's faith." In accordance with this, assurance is insisted on; and the test of assurance is a wholly subjective one—peace of conscience. Thus on 1 Cor. viii. 9, speaking of the proofs of a true vocation in the case of the Apostles, he makes the first criterion "peace of conscience, which is the effect of faith, which I hold for certain Judas never possessed, nor did any of those who separated themselves from Christ"; and again on 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2, "A man is righteous in proportion as he feels peace of conscience"; and on verse 5, "A man is but to that extent a Christian in which he possesses this assurance." On the sacrament of baptism he seems to hold what would be called high doctrine: thus in the *Fundamentals of Christian Teaching*, "We enter into the enjoyment of this rehabilitation, through faith and through baptism"; but on the Eucharist he is much more reticent, and I have found it difficult to collect what his views really were. He evidently was not satisfied either with the doctrine or with the ritual of his own day. On 1 Cor. xi. 33, 34, his conclusions are: "I shall not here refrain from saying that the greatest and heaviest chastisements and calamities that come upon Christianity are on account of the profanation of Christ's Supper, through men who, as affectedly learned, have sought to introduce their own nihilities into it, either by way of subtraction or addition. I feel this to be so, because the Word of God has made me to know it, and likewise by the frequent experiences that are witnessed. And they who

shall have received light from Christ to look into these things, will find much more than I state." There is here, plainly, dissatisfaction with the service of the Mass; but how Valdés would reform it, or what kind of Liturgy he would substitute, of this I find no hint. In these citations I am aware that I cannot give an adequate picture of Valdés' opinion; mixed with what is defective, there is so much in his writings which is really beautiful and admirably expressed, and he often shows much deep practical, spiritual insight. As a writer he fails most in his illustrations, of which he is very fond, and these, like those of others, seldom go upon all fours. His translations, especially of the Psalms, rank among the finest in the Spanish language. The charge of Arianism against him I believe to be unfounded. Thus on 1 Cor. viii. 4-6: "This Word clad Himself in flesh, as St. John says, 'And the Word was made flesh,' having stated just previously that 'All things were made by Him.'" Again, on 1 Cor. xv. 15-18: "If Christ had not risen . . . it would be clear that He was a mere man like us, and not the Son of God, as He indeed is, and one and the same with God, as is stated in Romans i. 4." In his treatise called *Spiritual Milk*, there is a definition of the Holy Ghost—"This Holy Spirit (which Christ sent) is a divine favour by which God vivifies our minds, maintaining them in bodily life"—which is certainly inadequate; but I find no further reference to it. It is the extreme subjectivity of Valdés' teaching which makes us class him as a mystic; the high place he gives to personal illumination, and to inward feeling and



experience, his doctrine of inward mortification springing from faith, and his constant depreciation of the learning and scholarship which he undoubtedly possessed. Space warns me to limit these remarks and citations ; but enough has been said above to show how different in some respects were the doctrines he taught with all the unconscious pride of an esoteric teacher, from those held by the school of Herbert and of Ferrar. This explains, perhaps, how it is that the recommendation even of such men found no echo in the Church of England ; that it has been reserved for noble and excellent men of our own day, but outside her pale—the Friends, Wiffen, Usoz, and others—to re-introduce his forgotten works to the world of literature and of theology. But after all deductions made, Valdés, even when his reaction against the faulty teaching of the dominant Church of his day goes to an extreme, and so becomes in its turn erroneous, still remains one of the most noble and interesting characters in the history of the Reformation both in Spain and Italy.

The study of Molinos has lately been revived simultaneously in England and in the United States. In the latter, *Molinos the Quietist*, by John Bigelow, was published in New York (Scribner's) in 1882. In England his name was rendered familiar to the general public in 1881 : this has been followed by a little work entitled *Golden Thoughts from the Spiritual Guide of Miguel Molinos*, with preface by J. H. Shorthouse (Glasgow and London, 1883). It is singular that Molinos' works were first collected and published in French at Amsterdam in 1688,

and were first introduced into England by the celebrated Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, whose general character seems to be the very opposite to that of a mystic.<sup>1</sup> Burnet, we imagine, patronized Molinos solely because he was condemned by Rome, and also at the court of Louis XIV.

Molinos is a truer mystic, a deeper and more systematic thinker, than is Juan de Valdés. He really attempts to build up a compact theosophical system. The third book of his *Spiritual Guide* has been called by no partial judge, "The most eloquent proclamation that has ever been made of ecstatic nihilism."<sup>2</sup> But with all this eloquence there is, it seems to us, ever a sense of effort, a note of exaggeration, which we do not find in the style of Juan de Valdés. There is a strong contrast between the harsh, crude tone of the *Spiritual Guide* and the calm, tender feeling of the *De Imitatione*. Who does not feel the note of exaggeration in the following comment on "Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth"? "The happy souls

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil de diverses pieces concernant le Quietisme et les Quietistes, ou Molinos, ses sentimens et ses disciples*, à Amsterdam, chez A. Wolfgang, MDCLXXXVIII.

*Some Letters containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, etc.* Written by G. Burnet, D.D., to T. H. R. B., at Rotterdam. Printed by Abraham Archer, Bookseller by the Exchange, 1686.

*The Spiritual Guide of Michael de Molinos.* Verbatim reprint of the edition of 1699. (John Thomson, Glasgow, 1885); translated from the Italian copy; but this is far less complete than the above French edition by Bishop Burnet. Dr. H. C. Lea's *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain* (Philadelphia, 1890) may also be consulted.

<sup>2</sup> Menendez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos*, vol. ii. p. 564.

which are guided by God, by the secret way of the interior walk and of purgative contemplation, must suffer above all men strong and horrible temptations and torments, more bitter than those wherewith the martyrs were crowned in the Primitive Church," *et seq.* Both Juan de Valdés and Molinos, while feeling keenly the dangers which arise from formality and from mere habit in the performance of external religious duties, shut their eyes closely to the perils which, in the case of ordinary men, attend on a purely subjective form of religion, and of attempting to live before God without the aid of any external ordinances. But Valdés does not erect this into a system as does Molinos. The former (Valdés) seems at times to speak of it as good only for the present necessity when Christians, for fear of persecution, were obliged to conceal themselves. "At least," he says, "were it permitted to true Christians to live Christianly, they would not have to hide up as they do." But Molinos teaches, as it were, almost a new theology.<sup>1</sup> As an instance of an opening given to spiritual self-deception, we may notice the words concerning the soul in its voluntary abasement, "being desirous that every one should know its humility." The climax of the system is reached in the penultimate chapter, with this heading,

<sup>1</sup> The teaching of Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) in his devotional works approaches that of Molinos.

"Omnia igitur phantasmata, species, imagines, ac formas rerum omnium citra Deum a mente rejicias; ut in solo nudo intellectu et affectu, ac voluntate, tuum pendeat exercitium circa Deum intra te," *et al.*

Beati Alberti Magni, *De Perfectione vitæ spiritualis seu de adherendo Deo*, libellus, p. 134. (Lethielleux, Parisiis, 1899.)

"This nothing is the ready way to obtain purity of soul, perfect contemplation, and the rich treasure of peace internal." In the following quotations from it, the italics are in the text itself:—

"By the way of *nothing* thou must come to lose thyself in God (which is the last degree of perfection), and happy wilt thou be if thou canst so use thyself: then thou wilt get thyself gain, and find thyself most certainly.

"What a treasure thou wilt find if thou shalt once fix thy habitation in nothing! And if thou settest but into the centre of nothing, thou wilt never concern thyself with anything without . . . nothing will vex thee or break thy peace. With the helmet of *nothing*, thou wilt be too hard for strong temptations and for the suggestions of the terrible enemy.

"Lastly, do not look at *nothing*, desire *nothing*, will *nothing*, endeavour *nothing*; and then *in everything* thy soul will live reposed with quiet and enjoyment.

"Walk therefore in this safe path, and endeavour to overwhelm thyself in this *nothing*, endeavour to use thyself, to sink thyself deep into it, if thou hast a mind to be annihilated, united, transformed."

The substance of Christianity seems to be well-nigh evaporated here. Can this be a safe path? Is it sure that the soul which thus "loses itself," abandoning all guidance, will always thus "lose (or find) itself in God"? Are there no temptations and delusions from within as well as from without? This excessive individualization of religion, this "never concerning thyself with anything without,"

this longing after nothingness, this impatience of everything outward which may vex or break into the soul's peace; is not this—however far it may be from the intention or the consciousness of the writer—is this not really almost an apotheosis of selfishness? What room is there here for active tenderness towards those which are without? What place for the charities of Christ? Where is the joy of the communion of saints? Where the flow of the current of sympathy, through the "whole body of Christ," which should be felt by each one of His members? We can understand such a reaction of individuals in a society wherein religion was represented as wholly a thing of formality and of external mechanism, where the habit of such practices had deadened all true feeling, and wherein the Church had no influence at all on the conduct and morality of the majority of its members, whether clerical or lay; but, is it wise to seek to revive this system of *nothing* in an age of which the most cheering feature, among many most discouraging ones, is sympathy for others, the profession at least, though often in most mistaken ways, of caring for the good of humanity? Would it not be better to try and turn this emotion aright, instead of seeking only the peace, however deep and true, of the individual soul alone? But Molinism, we fear, has its secret and subtle point of contact with a spirit of the age, and with one of the worst of those spirits. Both agnosticism and pessimism may find a place there. The former may adopt the intellectual, the latter the selfish and enervating side of this nihilism, and with it both may work

harm. But agnosticism has a place even in Christianity. Man's vision is bounded on all sides. The finite cannot comprehend the infinite, nor define that which by its very terms is indefinable. The Greek Fathers acknowledged this fully ; even the favourite word of agnostic philosophy seems to be found in their writings. Thus in the Anaphora of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom we have this phrase, *Σὺ γὰρ εἶ Θεὸς ἀνέκφραστος, ἀπεριωόητος, ἀόρατος ἀκατάληπτος, ἀεὶ ὢν ὡσαύτως ὢν.*<sup>1</sup> Which is thus translated in the Latin version of the Liturgy : "Tu enim es Deus ineffabilis, incomprehensibilis, invisibilis, *inexcogitabilis*, semper existens, eodem modo existens."<sup>2</sup> Or consider this grand hymn of Gregory Nazianzen—

"Ὑμνος εἰς Θεόν.

Ὡ πάντων ἐπέκεινα· τί γὰρ θέμις ἄλλο σε μέλπειν ;  
 Πῶς λόγος ὑμνήσει σε ; σὺ γὰρ λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ῥητόν.  
 Πῶς νόος ἀθρήσει σε ; σὺ γὰρ νόῳ οὐδενὶ ληπτός.  
 Μῦθος ἐὼν ἀφραστος· ἐπεὶ τέκες ὅσσα λαλεῖται.  
 Μῦθος ἐὼν ἄγνωστος· ἐπεὶ τέκες ὅσσα νοεῖται.  
 Πάντα σέ, καὶ λαλέοντα, καὶ ὃν λαλέοντα λιγαίνει  
 Πάντα σέ, καὶ νοέοντα, καὶ ὃν νοέοντα, γεραίρει.  
 Ξυνοὶ γάρ τε πόθοι, ξυναὶ δ' ὠδῖνες ἀπάντων  
 Ἀμφὶ σέ· σοὶ δὲ τὰ πάντα προσεύχεται· εἰς σέ δὲ πάντα  
 Σύνθεμα σὸν νοέοντα λαλεῖ σιγώμενον ὕμνον.  
 Σοὶ ἐνὶ πάντα μένει· σοὶ δ' ἄθροα πάντα θοάζει.  
 Καὶ πάντων τέλος ἐσσί, καὶ εἷς, καὶ πάντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς,

<sup>1</sup> Hammond, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, p. 107 (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1878), and *The Divine Liturgies of our Fathers among the Saints, John Chrysostom and Basil the Great . . . with the Greek text by J. N. W. B. Robertson*, pp. 296-7. (David Nutt, 1894.)

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Precum*, ad usum cleri tum regularis tum secularis, tom. i. p. 84. 2 vols. (Vives, Lutetiae, 1857.)

Οὐχ ἔν ἐόν, οὐ πάντα. Πανώνυμε πῶς σε καλέσω,  
 Τὸν μόνον ἀκλήϊστον; Ὑπερνεφέας δὲ καλύπτρας  
 Τίς νοός οὐρανίδης εἰσδύσεται; Ἰλαος εἷης,  
 Ὡ πάντων ἐπέκεινα· τί γὰρ θέμις ἄλλο σε μέλπειν.<sup>1</sup>

Thou art beyond all things: no other name is worthy of Thee.

How can speech praise Thee? For Thee no word can speak. How can mind look on Thee? Thee Who no mind can grasp.

Thou only art beyond words; creator of all that speak. Thou only art beyond knowledge; from Whom all knowledge proceeds

Thee all things voiced and dumb proclaim.

All things that have thought and have not, honour Thee.

Yearning and grief are common to all

For Thee. The prayers of all are to Thee. To Thee all

Who know Thy Being breathe a silent hymn.

Thou makest all things to rest and to move.

Thou art the end of all, art one and all, and none,

Not one nor all. All things are Thy name, how shall I call Thee

Who alone hast no name? What heavenly mind can pierce the veil

That is above the heavens? Have mercy Thou,

Who art beyond all things: no other name is worthy of Thee.

See also a fine passage by Bishop Lightfoot on the words, "Why stand ye gazing up into heaven?" "We behold not the eternal things themselves, but only their shadows," etc. *seq.*<sup>2</sup> And again on "It must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." "God hates sin, and yet God allows sin. This is the contradiction involved in the text. The enigma is stated,

<sup>1</sup> Gregorii Nazianzeni opera, vol. ii. p. 252. 2 vols. fol. (Coloniæ, 1690), and *Selectæ Preces e Patribus Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, p. 118. (Paris et Lyon, 1848.)

<sup>2</sup> *Sermons preached in St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 157-159.

but it is not explained. Christianity did not create the difficulty, and Christianity does not offer to solve it."<sup>1</sup>

Both Valdés and Molinos we believe to have been pure and holy men, men of the best intentions, both morally and spiritually in advance of their contemporaries. The charges against the purity of Molinos we do not credit. And though Valdés, in commenting on 1 Cor. vii. 5, comes very near that union of casuistry and mysticism which is so perilous, his life seems to have been pure, without a stain. It is evident from the above remarks that we fear more danger from Molinos than from Valdés. What is erroneous in the latter is already taught amongst us, and is more or less successfully resisted. The teaching of the former is newer, more subtle in its perils, less tangible, and may seduce the souls of higher aspiration. There is, moreover, this further danger: good and excellent as the originators of any false teaching may be, however much they may in life and in their own exposition guard against its errors, yet none the less the logical outcome of their error will produce itself in their disciples, and with consequences no less mischievous in practice than in doctrine. Again and again in the history of the Church do we find the followers acting in a way which the founder would have abhorred, but which, however contrary

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Sermons*, p. 249. (Macmillan and Co., 1891.) Albertus Magnus in one place says of God, "non est sensibilis, neque imaginabilis; sed super omne sensibile et intelligibile," *op. cit.* p. 146; and L. Blosius, "in solo ignoto et innominabile Deo quiescat (anima)," *Institutio Spiritualis*, p. 191.



to his own life, is yet but the logical and necessary outcome of his opinions !

May we, in conclusion, mark one note of difference between such mysticism as we have been considering, and that which we find in the Scriptures and in the hymns of the early Church. There, when men found themselves, as it were, in the conscious presence of God, when, to use the words of our author, the soul was lost in God, and in the contemplation of Him, the result was not a consideration of their own peace, but of their own unworthiness, and of His glory: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts," in the words of the *Ter Sanctus*, or in those of *Gloria in Excelsis*, or the "Song of the Great Fisherman" ; still more in the *Te Deum*. This attitude of mind is, we think, one of the safeguards against the perils of a too subjective mysticism ; not the learning to "interiorize," as it is called, the soul ; not the thinking more of self, but thinking more of God, and of our duty and privilege, and joy, to love and to praise, and to glorify Him. The effect of the one is like the stifling air of a hothouse, beautiful though some of its strange products may be ; the effect of the other is like the invigorating, life-giving breath of heaven, which nerves and strengthens the soul to do cheerfully and with courage whatever work God may have appointed for it to do in a world which Christ died to save.

## VIII

### HISPANISM AND REGALISM IN THE SPANISH CHURCH

FEW national movements in the Western Church have attracted more attention, or have been more studied by English Churchmen, than that known as Gallicanism in France; while the similar movement in the Spanish Church known as Hispanism, or Regalism, has received but comparatively little attention. Yet without some investigation of it there are many features in the history both of Spain and of the Spanish Church which must remain a puzzle to all those who wish to penetrate a little below the surface. Thus, during the late Carlist war many were completely surprised at the warm repudiation of Ultramontanism on the part of the Carlist chiefs, while maintaining and almost exaggerating the dogmas which are usually connected with that term. To many an English reader the works of Fernan Caballero seem to be thoroughly steeped in Ultramontanism; yet she had really no sympathy with Neo-Catholicism, as modern Ultramontanism is called in Spain, and steadily repudiated all idea of propagating its maxims.

This peculiar attitude of the Spanish Church, so difficult to understand, began very early. We may perhaps find traces of it in the attitude of Hosius at the Council of Nicæa, taking the lead as an allied but independent and equal power and authority to that of the Church of Rome. In the first Council of Braga, A.D. 563, though a letter of Pope Vigilius to Profuturus is read and treated with all respect, yet in Canon iii. the appeal for unity is "sicut et ab ipsis apostolis traditum omnis retinet Oriens."<sup>1</sup> So in later Councils the appeal for unity of practice is that of the province; *e. g.* Toledo iv. (A.D. 633) Canon ii., after stating that second to a confession of the right faith, there should be no difference or discordance in the sacraments of the Church, says, "Unus igitur ordo orandi at psallendi a nobis per omnem Hispaniam atque Galliam (*v. l.* Galliciam) conservetur, unus modus in missarum solemnitatibus, unus in vespertinis matutinisque officiis, nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo qui una fide contine-mur ut regno; hoc enim et antiqui canones decreverunt, ut unaquæque provincia et psallendi

<sup>1</sup> So in Brun's *Canones Apostolorum et Conciliorum*, sæculorum iv., v., vi., vii. (Berlin, 1839), and in Migne, vol. lxxxiv. *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera*, tomus octavus, col. 566. Cardinal Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 500, (Lutetiæ, MDCLXXVI), after quoting the canon "Omnis retinet Oriens," says, "In hunc autem canonem mendum irrepsisse, ut pro occidens oriens legatur, dudum viri docti observarunt; nam in Ecclesia Orientali alium fuisse usum, quæ modo allata sunt, manifestant." Compare the article "Dominus Vobiscum" in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 572. The mistake of the Spanish bishops does not nullify their intention to appeal to the practice of the Universal East.

et ministrandi parem consuetudinem teneat." This reference to the ancient canons shows that the ideal of ritual in that day was not a universal uniformity, but one adapted to the requirements and circumstances of each province. In Conc. Tolet. xiv. 10 (A.D. 684), the comment on Matt. xvi. 18 incidentally suggests the free attitude of the Church of Spain to that of Rome. "Scientes igitur hanc solam esse fidei confessionem quæ vincat infernum, quæ exsuperet Tartarum, de hac enim fide a domino dictum est. Portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam." So in Conc. Tolet. xvii. 3 (A.D. 694)<sup>1</sup> it is laid down that no custom or tradition can override revealed truth and reason. We have seen above (p. 84) how strenuously Masdeu the Jesuit (as also Burriel, another Jesuit in 1760) upheld the fact that for the first thousand years of her existence the Spanish Church was a national Church, in accord with, but independent of, the Church of Rome. He, with other writers, marks the period of the gradual introduction of the Roman Liturgy by the French monks of Cluny as that of her subjugation under Roman sway. But this subjugation of the Church of Spain was far from being

<sup>1</sup> "*Quare vos transgredimini mandatum dei propter traditionem vestram?*" Itemque præcellentissimus doctor et invicticissimus martyr Cyprianus prosequens ait: Frustra qui ratione vincuntur consuetudinem nobis opponunt, quasi consuetudo major sit veritate, aut non id sit spiritualibus sequendum quod in melius fuerit a sancto spiritu revelatum; ideoque dum veritatis exemplum luce clarius enitescat et oburgationis ejus terribilia edicta præfulgeant atque etiam doctoris præcipui sententia instruat majorem esse veritatem consuetudine, incassum nobis consuetudinem sine ratione objiciunt."

complete. Again and again in her history we find the memory of her ancient position recurring, and producing marked results both in the political and ecclesiastical history of the nation. More than once Spain has seemed to be on the point of breaking with Rome, and of setting up an independent national Church, not different in doctrine, but independent in administration and discipline ; and this under her most religious sovereigns, and those most devoted to the Church.

This tendency is shown not only in political and ecclesiastical matters. At one period it had also deeply penetrated the popular mind. The truly national heroes of Spain had no slavish awe of the Holy Father. We see them asserting the political equality of Spain with Rome, bearding the Pope in his own city, humiliating him in his own Church, and extorting absolution when excommunication and anathema might rather have been expected. Thus we have ballads of the Cid,<sup>1</sup> telling how at a

<sup>1</sup> "En la Capilla de San Pedro  
Don Rodrigo se ha entrado,  
Viera estar siete sillas  
De siete Reyes Cristianos,  
Viera la del Rey de Francia  
Par de la del Padre Santo,  
Y vió estar la de su Rey  
Un estado mas abajo.  
Váse á la del Rey de Francia,  
Con el pié la ha derrocado  
Y la silla era de oro,  
Hecho se ha cuatro pedazos ;  
Tomara la de su Rey,  
Y subióla en lo mas alto.  
Ende hablara un duque  
Que dicen el saboyano :  
'Maldito seas, Rodrigo,

Council at Rome the Spanish champion forcibly put the seat of his master, the King of Spain, above that of France, and when threatened with excommunication retorts on the Pope: "Ill will it fare with you, if you absolve me not, O Pope; the rich vestments that you wear shall be trappings for my horse;" and absolution is given at once. Does not this scene of the popular fancy foreshadow the sack of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon under Charles V.?

According to La Fuente, cismontanism, *i. e.* oppo-

Del Papa descomulgado,  
 Que deshonaste á un Rey  
 El mejor y mas sonado.  
 Cuando lo oyó el buen Cid  
 Tal respuesta le ha dado :  
 'Dejemos los Reyes, duque,  
 Ellos son buenos y honrados,  
 Y hayámoslo los dos  
 Como muy buenos vasallos.'  
 Y allegóse cabe el duque,  
 Un gran bofeton le ha dado  
 Allí hablara el duque :  
 'Demándetelo el diablo !'  
 El Papa desque lo supo  
 Quiso allí descomulgallo.  
 Don Rodrigo que lo supo  
 Tal respuesta le hubo dado :  
 'Si no me absolveis, el Papa,  
 Seríaos mal contado :  
 Que de vuestras ricas ropas  
 Cubriré yo mi caballo.'  
 El Papa desque lo oyera  
 Tal respuesta le hubo dado :  
 'Yo te absuelvo, don Rodrigo,  
 Yo te absuelvo de buen grado,  
 Que cuanto hicieres en Cortes  
 Seas de ello libertado.'"

*Romancero del Cid*, por C. Michaelis, Leipzig, 1871. No. xxxvi. pp. 57-58; cf. also xxxv., xxxvii., xxxviii.

sition to the Roman Curia, dates in Spain from the time of the Avignon Popes, during the great Schism (1379-1411), the Councils of Constance (1414) and of Basle (1431); regalism begins in the time of the Catholic kings and the early years of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The action and relation of the Spanish sovereigns to the Church is seen in the convocation of a national Council or Congregation<sup>2</sup> at Seville in July and August, 1478. The convocation is made in the name of the king and queen alone. They refuse to permit any delay or change in the date of assembling. No nuncio or representative of the Papacy presided or was present at the Council. Ferdinand and Isabella claim to act as those "who represent the universal Church in their kingdoms."<sup>3</sup> All the resolutions, or rather propositions, of the Council are in response to articles submitted to it by the king, are made in the form of supplication or request, and there is no appeal from the final decision of the king.<sup>4</sup> On the important point of the right of entry of the nuncio, the Council declares "that it belongs to your Highnesses to remedy that, as the kings your predecessors have done, as and

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica de España*, par D. Vicente de la Fuente, tomo v. pp. 440 and 66. (Madrid, 1874.)

<sup>2</sup> *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tomo xxii. pp. 212-257. P. F. Fita shows (p. 211) that *congregacion* is a Spanish term for Council, and means the same thing.

<sup>3</sup> "À nos que representamos la yglesia universal dellos pertenesce prover e remediar." *Boletín*, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> "Lo que con toda humildad é devocion suplican á vuestros Altezas los perlados, que en esta congregacion están presentes," p. 227.

when it was serviceable to them in like cases.”<sup>1</sup> To the propositions of the Council the kings reply, “That which appears fit to the King and Queen our Lords.”<sup>2</sup> Some propositions are thoroughly approved at once: “It appears to their Highnesses that it is well answered.”<sup>3</sup> Others are referred back to the Council, and the answer to their further representations is generally a curt answer from the kings: “It pleases them.”<sup>4</sup> It is difficult in a few short extracts to give a full impression of the attitude of the Catholic kings towards the Church, and of the bishops and representatives of the Church to the sovereigns. In the year 1482 the sovereigns ordered all Spanish subjects to leave Rome preliminary to an intention of calling a general Council of the whole of Christendom.<sup>5</sup> Acting on proposition xvi. of the Council of 1478, on May 22, 1508, Ferdinand writes reproving the Viceroy of Naples for allowing the publication of a papal Bull, and asks why he did not hang the papal envoy on the spot, and he proceeds: “We are thoroughly determined, if His Holiness does not quickly revoke the Brief, and the acts done in virtue of it, to take from him the

<sup>1</sup> “Que à sus Alteças pertenesce remediar, segund que los Reyes sus progenitores hacer fisieron, como é quando cumplió á su servicio en semejante casos,” p. 227, no. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> “Lo que (á) los Rey é Reyna nuestros Señores paresçe cerca de la respuesta dada,” p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> “Á sus Altesas paresçe que está bien respondido,” p. 242.

<sup>4</sup> “Que les plase,” p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> “El Rey é la Reyna embiaron mandar á todos sus naturales que estaban en corte Romana que saliesen della. Esto ficieron con propósito de convocar los Principes de la christianidad á facer concilio.” *Boletín*, p. 256.



obedience of all the kingdoms of the Crowns of Castille and Aragon, and to take other measures fitting for so serious an occasion, and one of such importance.”<sup>1</sup> La Fuente treats this letter as a probable Protestant forgery; but it is accepted by Gams, and there seems to be no reason to doubt its authenticity.

In a letter to Pope Sixtus IV. in 1482, Ferdinand claimed the right of patronage and presentation to all Churches in his dominions as a reward for his services to the Holy See and to Christendom.<sup>2</sup> On the foundation of churches in America in 1513 he solicited from Leo X. “the intervention which lawfully belonged to him as Lord of those countries, and patron of the Churches which have been founded in them.”<sup>3</sup> It appears that all the tithes of the present or future Churches in the New World had already been granted to the king.<sup>4</sup> So in the reign of Charles V., when, in 1534, Jerome Loayza is appointed bishop of the newly erected See of Cartagena, it is at the presentation of the aforesaid emperor and king, the patron of that Church,<sup>5</sup> and Pope Paul III. in his Bull acknowledges “the patronage *de jure* of Our very dear son in Christ, Charles, Emperor of the Romans, ever Augustus, King of Castille and Leon, by apostolic privilege which is not

<sup>1</sup> La Fuente, v. p. 78. Gams, v. pp. 128-9 and 140. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. iii. p. 393 note. (Routledge, London, n.d.)

<sup>2</sup> Pulgar, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, Don Fernand e Doña Isabel*, parte ii. cap. 104. *Bib. Autores Españoles*, tomo lxx. p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> *Boletín*, tomo vii. p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xix. p. 24.

henceforth to be repealed;"<sup>1</sup> and again, speaking of the bishop, "whom the aforesaid Charles, Emperor and King, presented unto Us for this purpose by his letters."<sup>2</sup> The bishop then, "as required on the part of the aforesaid Emperor and King,"<sup>3</sup> proceeds to nominate all other dignitaries and officers of the cathedral, from the dean to the porter and sexton, but it is "on the presentation of the aforesaid Emperor and King, and of his successors in the kingdoms of Spain."<sup>4</sup> "The presentation of fit persons and dignities, canonries, prebends, whole or half portions, and other dignities, canonries, prebends, and similar aforesaid portions to be in future created in our said Cathedral Church, we, by apostolic authority, reserve to the aforesaid Catholic Kings of the Spains, and to their successors as belongs by right to them" (*prout de jure eis competit*).<sup>5</sup> So in the distribution of the revenues, tithes, salaries, "all these things are to be at the will and pleasure (*ad nutum et voluntatem*) of the aforesaid Majesty and of the Kings his successors."<sup>6</sup> The whole patronage and the distribution of revenues remain in the hands of the Crown. No wonder that "In Spanish America the clergy, completely subordinated to the Crown, gave scarce any heed to Rome."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Boletín*, xix. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 26-29.

<sup>4</sup> p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> p. 38. An abstract of these documents is given in *The Foreign Church Chronicle*, vol. xvi., No. 61, March 1, 1892, pp. 22-26. (R. Berkeley, London.)

<sup>7</sup> *Revue de Belgique*, Van Keymeulen. *L'Église et l'État en Espagne sous Philippe II.*, p. 130, 12<sup>e</sup> année, 2<sup>e</sup> livre, Février 15, 1880. (C. Muquardt, Bruxelles, 1880.)

Pope Leo X., December 12, 1515, confirmed to Charles V. the administration for life of the great military Orders, which Alexander VI. had already granted to Ferdinand, and Hadrian VI., May 4, 1523, made this perpetual to the king and to his successors; by the same Bull he granted to him and to his successors the faculty of appointing bishops in all their dominions by right of patronage. Up to that time it had been the custom for the sovereigns only to request the Pope to provide certain persons. Since then this important and valuable right of royalty was absolutely assured to the Crown.<sup>1</sup> Gams remarks on this that Leo X. in his Concordat of 1518 had made the same concession to the kings of France, and that "in all countries where the rulers are Catholic the chapters have from this time lost the election of Bishops."<sup>2</sup> A writer on the *Decadence of Catalonia* says, "In order to understand how it was that servility came to be the distinguishing characteristic of the Spanish clergy we must fix our attention on the transcendental changes in the relations between State and Church introduced by Philip II."<sup>3</sup> Philip believed that the foundation of his authority and power rested on his spiritual jurisdiction. "The only bond of union in his states was religion." "He considered himself as the temporal Vicar of Jesus Christ, as the Pope

<sup>1</sup> La Fuente, v. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Gams, v. 155.

<sup>3</sup> *La Decadencia de Cataluña*, por Don Pedro Nanot Renart, in the *Revista de Ciencias Históricas*, i. 332. (Barcelona, 1880.)

was the spiritual Vicar.”<sup>1</sup> “He never missed an opportunity of tightening the bonds which attached the Church of Spain to the Crown, and of loosening those which united it to the See of Rome.”<sup>2</sup> “He succeeded in this to so great an extent that it may be affirmed without fear of exaggeration, that under his reign the Pope had scarcely more influence over the Spanish clergy than over the Anglican clergy under Elizabeth.”<sup>3</sup> If at times the king hesitated, or his conscience was troubled, he was reassured by his theologians, “who were Spaniards first and churchmen afterwards.” He was told that “to intervene in the election of the Roman Pontiffs was the sacred duty of the Catholic King.”<sup>4</sup> For his ambassador Vargas, as for all Spanish theologians and jurists, the authority of the Catholic king was the same which the emperors of old had so much used and abused in all matters, but especially in ecclesiastical.<sup>5</sup> Philip, giving instructions to Mendoza, declared that “he considered himself as the chief support of the Church, and the supreme protector of the Holy See on earth.”<sup>6</sup> Like our English sovereigns, he refused “to renounce any of the prerogatives

<sup>1</sup> Van Keymeulen, *L'Église et l'État en Espagne sous Philippe II.* in the *Revue de Belgique*, Février 15, 1880, pp. 105-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 106-7.

<sup>4</sup> R. de Hinojosa, *Felipe II. y el Conclave de 1559* in the *Revista Contemporanea*, tomo lxxiii., January 15, 1889, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Hinojosa, *Revista Contemporanea*, March 15, 1889, p. 503. “La autoridad del Rey Católico era aquella misma de que los Antiguos Emperadores.” “That only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes.” *Articles of Religion*, xxxvii.

<sup>6</sup> Hinojosa, *Revista Contemporanea*, tomo lxxv. p. 91.

which he had inherited from his predecessors, pious princes and defenders of the Faith." <sup>1</sup> Like Ferdinand, he would allow no Papal Bull, however great and important, to be published in his dominions without his consent. The Bull "In Cæna Domini" solemnly read at Rome, once every year, on Thursday in Holy Week, though it had been introduced into Aragon, was forbidden by Charles V. in 1551, and by Philip in 1572, to be promulgated in Spain, and the excommunications contained in it were wholly disregarded. To the remonstrances of the nuncio, Philip replied that "he would not suffer any encroachment on his Majesty, or his prerogatives," <sup>2</sup> and this Bull has never been received in Spain. It was under Philip II. that the Inquisition became almost more an instrument of upholding the absolute power of the Crown, than for uprooting heresy and advancing the power of the Pope. Gams, the Benedictine historian, takes full note of this attitude of Philip towards the Roman Curia. He shows us Pius IV. exclaiming, "You wish to be Pope in Spain, and make everything depend upon the King." "If Philip will be King in Spain, I will be Pope in Rome." <sup>3</sup> "I have been more ill-treated by the King and his ministers than ever Pope was by Spanish rulers." <sup>4</sup> Philip's policy was: "The Clergy shall be rich, but subject to the King; rich, so that at the right moment they may be plundered at the pleasure of the Crown." <sup>5</sup> "He had so completely loosened

<sup>1</sup> Keymeulen, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> p. 516.

<sup>2</sup> Gams, v. p. 520.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 516-7.

<sup>5</sup> p. 519.

the Spanish clergy from Rome that they were joined to the Papacy by the bond of dogma only, not by that of organization and discipline.”<sup>1</sup> “Philip was more Catholic than the Pope himself, he alone was infallible.” “The interests of the Faith and of Spain were for him identical. Out of the Holy Roman Church he would make a Holy Spanish (or Philippian) church.”<sup>2</sup> Many more could be added to these citations and from many sources. These are sufficient to show (1) how different the conception of papal infallibility, even among the most orthodox princes, was then from what it is now; (2) that in the Spanish Church a supremacy of the Crown, in all matters of administration, organization, and Church discipline was increasingly enforced by Ferdinand, Charles V., and Philip II. These sovereigns were all related to the Tudor kings. Henry VII. looked up to Ferdinand as the wisest of European rulers. He not only married his sons, Arthur and Henry, to Ferdinand’s daughter, Catherine, but was himself a suitor for the hand of his other daughter, the widowed Joanna; Charles V. was nephew of Catherine; his son Philip was husband of Mary, and a suitor for Elizabeth. It is impossible that the attitude of these sovereigns to their clergy could have been unknown to our princes. Royal supremacy, in different degrees, was at that time, so to say, in the air throughout Europe. It was not till after the Council of Trent that the establishment of national Churches in connection with Rome became an impossibility in practical politics.

<sup>1</sup> Gams, v. p. 521.

<sup>2</sup> p. 529.

These facts in their bearing on the action of the English sovereigns have not, we think, been sufficiently considered by recent writers on the English Reformation.

With the advent of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, the influence of France becomes more strongly felt ; and the external ecclesiastical policy of Spain closely follows the movement of thought in France. At the same time Jansenism, which had one of its strongholds in the frontier diocese of Bayonne, began to make partisans in Spain. Jansenism in Spain, as remarked by the Augustine Father, M. F. Miguelez, was scarcely a theological or dogmatical movement. It produced no great writers there, like Pascal, the Arnaulds, Nicole, and Quesnel in France.<sup>1</sup> It is thus described by Fr. de Cardenas: "There was another sect (besides the philosophic Encyclopædists) who professed in good faith the principles of Christianity, and were desirous of upholding its worship according to the doctrine of Jansenius, and aspired to bring back the Church to its primitive external character. They condemned as abuses and corruptions many Catholic practices, for no other reason than because they were not known in the times of the Apostles : they purposed to relieve the clergy from the care of temporal possessions which distracted them from their spiritual mission. Thus the Jansenists, though sincere Christians, joined in the work of the

<sup>1</sup> *Jansenismo y Regalismo en España*, por el P. Manuel F. Miguelez, Agustino, pp. 278-384. (Valladolid, 1895.) Father Miguelez declares that S. Menendez y Pelayo has not in the least exaggerated the tendencies of regalism in Spain in his *Historia de los Heterodoxos*, but rather the contrary.

enemies of Christianity, while they believed that they were only strengthening and purifying its worship. They did not seek to bind the clergy to any state, policy, or party, nor to turn their riches to revolutionary ends, but they believed that once the habits of the primitive Church were restored, Catholicism would recover its lost moral force, and that if the Church were reduced to the possession of what was necessary for a plain and simple worship, both religion and the State would gain much by the change; the Church acquiring a new title of respect from the world, and the State restoring to circulation, and making more productive a considerable amount of wealth.”<sup>1</sup> In the *London Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1736, appeared a letter from a Spanish theologian, speaking of doctrinal reforms, and attributing to the celebrated Benedictine Feijoo a project of a national Council and an autonomous Church.<sup>2</sup> In 1707 and 1715, Antonio de Alvarado, a priest who had taken refuge in England, translated anew into Spanish our Book of Common Prayer, which passed through two editions;<sup>3</sup> but he afterwards joined

<sup>1</sup> *Ensayo sobre la Historia de la Propiedad territorial en España*, por Don Francisco de Cardenas, vol. ii. p. 498. 2 vols. (Madrid, 1873.) This excellent work seems hardly so well known in England as it should be.

<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to trace in the British Museum the *Gaceta de Londres*, Nov. 27, 1736, to which Dr. Menendez y Pelayo refers (*Heterodoxos*, iii. 82); but my friend, the Rev. Th. J. Cooper, Chaplain of St. Jean de Luz, has discovered the letter in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, quoted in *Pue's Occurrences*, Saturday Nov. 20, and Tuesday, Nov. 23, 1736, with comments from the *London Prints and Manuscripts*. London, Oct. 13.

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Wellington learned Spanish from Alvarado's



the Friends, and it was a copy of Alvarado's translation of Barclay's *Apology* which influenced D. Luis de Usóz y Río, and led eventually to the republication of the works of the ancient Spanish Reformers.

But besides these external or semi-political attempts at reformation, a more worthy attempt at bringing back the Spanish Church to the doctrine and discipline of primitive Catholicity was being made about the middle of the eighteenth century by a Jesuit, A. M. Burriel. He was sent to Toledo about the year 1750 to examine the ancient archives and documents of the Spanish Church preserved there. The result was, according to Menéndez Pelayo,<sup>1</sup> that "he wished to demonstrate that the Pope was only the *caput ministeriale ecclesiæ*, and that he possessed no infallibility in dogma independently of an Œcumenical Council. He was blinded by his enthusiasm and fanaticism for all Spanish matters, and especially for our ancient liturgy, for our Councils and canonical collections, and for the traditions of our Church. He lived constantly under the shadow of the Isidores, Braulii, and Julians, and had built up in his imagination a certain kind of Visigothic Church,

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translation of the Prayer Book on his voyage to Spain in 1807. There is a particular interest attaching to the copy he used, which is told in *The Brothers Wiffen, Memoirs and Miscellanies*, edited by Samuel Rowles Pattison, p. 114 *seq.* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1880.) Lady Elinor Butler, who gave the book to Sir A. Wellesley, was one of the celebrated "Maids of Llangollen," see Wordsworth's *Miscellaneous Sonnets*, part iii. sonnet ix.

<sup>1</sup> *Historia de los Heterodoxos*, iii. 65.

which, without being schismatic, might preserve its hymns, rites, and canons, and be called a Spanish Church." "A lamentable Hispanism, which the ministers of Charles III. made use for far different ends from those intended by the learned Jesuit."<sup>1</sup>

The semi-political side of the movement went on increasing during the reigns of Charles III. and IV.<sup>2</sup> The Inquisition became dependent on the Crown, and a mere tool in the hands of the Royal Council. In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled. The doctrines not only of the Jansenists, but also of the revolutionary writers and of Voltaire, had more

<sup>1</sup> "That some of these regalistas worked in good faith is not open to doubt; and the very learned Mayans and Burriel may easily obtain pardon for this sin, perchance involuntary and due to the time in which they lived, by virtue of their compensating merits and marvellous erudition, although by it they opened the door to fatal corollaries, which could not then be foreseen." *Jansenismo y Regalismo*, p. 186. Burriel's *Præfatio* to the Spanish Councils is reprinted in Migne's edition of *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera omnia*, tome 8, p. 848. *Patrologiæ*, tomus lxxxiv. (Paris, 1850.)

<sup>2</sup> Menendez y Pelayo's character of Charles III. is worth quoting. "He was a man of very small intellect, more devoted to sport than to business; although harsh and obstinate, he was yet good-hearted at bottom, and very religious, but with an unintelligent piety. He solicited from Rome with foolish and puerile insistence the canonization of a lay-brother called Brother Sebastian, of whom he was a fanatic devotee. At the same time he authorized and consented to all kinds of attacks on ecclesiastical persons and things, and attempts to uncatholicize his subjects. When saintly innocents like this come to sit upon a throne, it is my opinion that they are a hundred times more mischievous than Julian the Apostate, or Frederick the Second of Prussia. Is it enough to say as Charles III. used to say; "I do not know how any one can be bold enough to commit a sin deliberately, even a venial one"? Is it so light a sin for a king to tolerate or to consent to wrong being done? *Historia de los Heterodoxos*, iii. 130.

and more influence in Spain. Towards the end of the century we find D. Blas Aguiriano, a Canon of Calahorra, defending the Jansenist Church of Utrecht. At the death of Pope Pius VI. in 1799, the ministers Urquijo and Caballero put forth a proclamation framing almost a regal national Church; "to many it seemed that the moment had arrived to break with Rome, and to make a schismatic Church, like the English."<sup>1</sup> Even high Church dignitaries, such as Amat, Abbot of St. Ildefonso, cousin of the more celebrated Bishop of Astorga, seemed to approve of the proclamation of Urquijo. The movement continued through the years of the revolution. The house of the Countess of Montijo in Madrid became the headquarters of Jansenism, and was frequented even by Inquisitors. The last echoes of the movement were heard in the Cortes of Cadiz. With the expulsion of the French, and the reaction under Ferdinand VII., the movement for the reform in Spain changes its character and becomes violent and revolutionary in the first Carlist war. Towards the end of the Regency attempts at the independence of Rome were projected, and in 1840-42 it was publicly said that "the Regent himself,<sup>2</sup> dominated by English influence, proposed to break absolutely from Rome, and to establish a schismatic Church *more anglicano*" (*Historia de los Heterodoxos*, iii. 628), and except for a timid proposal in 1869, and the endeavour of Don Juan Cabrera at present, the movement has been one mainly from without, and has been the result of the proselytizing efforts

<sup>1</sup> *Historia de los Heterodoxos*, iii. 174-175.   <sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Espartero.

of various Protestant bodies. Perhaps the most valuable and permanent result, in a literary point of view at least, has been the careful reprinting of the works of the Spanish Reformers of the sixteenth century, begun by Usoz and Wiffen, and still zealously continued by Böehmer of Strasburg, Betts, and others.

## IX

### A MODERN SAINT

#### AN EPILOGUE TO THE LIFE OF SANTA TERESA

MRS. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM concludes her life of Santa Teresa with the affirmation: "There will be no more Saints." She considers that they have passed away like the dodo, or any other extinct species of animal. There will be no more Saints, as there will be no more priests of Zeus, or of Osiris. This does not mean, of course, that there will be no more individuals distinguished for personal holiness; but that there will be no more Saints, taking the word in its technical sense,—men or women considered to be possessed of præternatural or supernatural powers, whose holiness is above the reach of ordinary humanity; who are deemed Saints during their life, who are beatified and canonized, to be worshipped as Saints after their death, whose wonder-working power in the world continues after death, nay, is enhanced by their removal from this earth. Take the assertion in either of these senses, nothing can be much further from the truth. We will deal only with the last. Not to mention other beatifications and canonizations which have crowded the years of the

pontificate of the present Pope, let us look at the biography of one modern Saint, the Venerable Philomena de Santa Colomba, whose process of canonization is now proceeding at Rome. An examination of her life will, I think, show that the ideal of sanctity which revolted Mrs. Graham in the case of Santa Teresa, instead of having passed away, or lessened, has been developed and intensified, in its most objectionable features, in the modern "Saint."

The preface of the work from which I write is headed with the capitals J.M.J.F.—Jesus, Mary, Joseph, Francis(?)—and is dated Rome, 13 January, 1893.<sup>1</sup> The writer gives, as his sources, a Spanish and an Italian life of Philomena, and the *summarium* of the evidence collected for her beatification and canonization. He has also personal information obtained in conversations with her brother, Felix Ferrer, a Catalan sculptor.

The peculiar characteristics of this Saint of the nineteenth century are well put in a review in the *Civiltà Cattolica*: "The secret of the eminent sanctity of Philomena has been the double devotion, more especially peculiar to our nineteenth century, to Mary Immaculate, and to the divine Heart of the Redeemer."<sup>2</sup> And the last paragraph but one of the Preface has this wish: "May these pages excite pious souls to more fervent supplications to the Heart of Jesus, to the Immaculate

<sup>1</sup> *La Vénérable Philomène de Ste. Colombe, Religieuse Minime Déchaussée; Sa Vie et ses Ecrits*, par le P. Pie de Langogne, des Frères Mineurs Capuchins. (Paris, Maison, de la Bonne Presse, 8, Rue François 1er. 1893.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xiii.

Virgin, to St. Joseph, and to St. Michael, by the intercession of her [Philomena] who, when alive, so strongly recommended us to have recourse to their protection.”<sup>1</sup>

But, after all, it may be said, this is merely an instance of local claustral veneration, of the “mutual admiration” sort. Both the subject of the biography and the writer belonged to the same Order. It is of no importance outside their cloisters. Such an objection is anticipated, and met in the Preface thus: “Since these lines have been written, the name of Sister Philomena, scarcely known in France, has become celebrated in Italy. Even at Rome, monks, prelates, and persons of eminence keep in the secret of their hearts the memory of favours received through her intercession, and in their prayers they hasten the time when, at the conclusion of the process of canonization, they will be able publicly to venerate her who already possesses the private worship of their gratitude.”<sup>2</sup>

Philomena Ferrer, afterwards Sister Philomena de Santa Colomba, was baptized in the parish church of Mora de Ebro, April 4, 1841. She died August 13, 1868. Her life of twenty-seven years was spent wholly in her native Cataluña. She received her first communion in her thirteenth year, on St. Teresa's day, October 15, 1853; was admitted to her noviciate in the convent of the barefooted Minimes Capuchines at Vals, March 29, 1860; and professed, April 4, 1861, the twentieth anniversary of her baptism. These were the chief outward passages of her life's story.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> p. xiv.

The Ferrers belonged to the highest class of artisans, the class in which craftsmanship touches upon art. They were sculptors. The piety of both parents was remarkable. Philomena was vowed to the Virgin even before her birth, and she was brought up in this spirit. Her first utterance is said to have been: "Mary—my Mother!" At three years old she was called the "little Saint."<sup>1</sup> The patience with which she bore severe illnesses in her childhood was considered as a præternatural gift of God, and her childish terrors as assaults of the Evil one. A priest who saw her praying one day in church, exclaimed: "The extraordinary behaviour of that child is in my eyes a sure sign that she will one day attain extraordinary sanctity." Numerous anecdotes are told of her charity to the poor, and of the sacrifices which she wished to make for them. The excitement of her first Communion brought on what seems to have been a prolonged fainting fit, and this was immediately followed, as she tells us in a narrative written thirteen years afterwards, by "a clear vision of the Immaculate Conception of the Very Holy Virgin Mary." . . . "Jesus then granted me a very clear manifestation of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and at the same time I understood the beauty of virginity and the love which the Holy Virgin has for it. Attracted, impelled by an irresistible force to this radiant beauty, I promised Mary to follow in her steps; I mean, that I most joyfully consecrated to her my virginity and all the affections of my heart, choosing her for my

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> p. 10.



sweetest mother, and offering myself to her for ever as her humble child. And during this offering my heart melted with love.”<sup>1</sup>

The memoir then proceeds to tell how, a year afterwards, it became manifest that Philomena's life belonged no longer to her parents, but to God. She was seized with cholera, but was saved by her mother's prayer for the intercession of her namesaint, St. Philomena. The knowledge of this increased the child's desire for self-consecration, and then she began that series of privations, austerities and self-tortures which ended only with her life. She was of remarkable beauty, and moreover had evidently a singular personal charm and attraction. She was, however, naturally delicate, and her digestion was soon impaired by excess of fasting. In the coldest nights of winter she would rise from her bed and sleep on the bare floor, and this in spite of the orders of her mother, who found her shivering in the morning. Philomena promised to obey, but left her bed unconsciously and involuntarily;—an act of somnambulism by no means rare, but which was treated as if it were a Divine favour.<sup>2</sup> Thus, too, was explained the atrophy of digestion, and the repugnance for food, the natural result of a girl of thirteen or fourteen fasting three days a week. All this was aggravated by a recourse to the empirical prescriptions and remedies of the good women of Mora.<sup>3</sup> Then we have gravely narrated to us, as præternatural, things which every parent of excitable, nervous, enthusiastic girls knows so well. At one moment

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 23, 24, 27.

Philomena would be too feeble to do the least task, or to undergo the slightest fatigue; the next she would achieve almost more than a person in strong health could do, and then again would come the inevitable reaction. These variations are set down as spiritual graces, or conflicts. The story of her first wearing a hair-cloth shirt is characteristic. One of her companions suspected it, and said to her: "But, Philomena, you wear a hair-cloth shirt." "I wear a hair-cloth shirt?" she replied. "I? Don't you know that I cannot bear the sting of a fly?"<sup>1</sup> This white lie, which is called by her biographer "clever humility," is a true description of the state of mind and feeling of many girls in Philomena's condition. They may not be able to endure the sting of a fly, or to do anything against their will; but they can do almost anything that they will. So she tells us that she never could succeed in fixing her mind on any given subject ordered her beforehand. Such wilfulness, however, seems to have been quite unconscious on Philomena's part. A natural fault was fostered by the idea, carefully instilled into her mind by injudicious friends, that she was the recipient of special grace; and a persistent self-deception was thereby created.

One of many curious apparent contradictions in the story of her life is, that not only her deeply religious father, but the mother who had vowed her to the Virgin before her birth, were both most averse to her entering a convent. There was a difficulty about her dowry (for a dowry is required,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32.

in almost all convents, from the brides of Christ), but as her father was a musician as well as sculptor, and had taught her to sing and play, when her parents' opposition ceased at last, to her great joy she was accepted as "choir Sister" in the monastery of the barefooted Minimes at Vals, a few days before her nineteenth birthday.

Thus began her life as a nun. She had already been looked upon almost as a Saint in her own family; her future canonization came to be an article of faith with the Sisters. She had before this been the recipient of miracles: it was now believed that she wrought them. Her life is a singular exception to the general rule that "a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house." This perhaps accounts for her peculiar habit of sermonizing every one. Her letters to her family form a striking contrast, in this respect, to those of Santa Teresa, which are so full of interest and concern even for the slightest detail of the comfort and temporal well-being of her friends and relatives. Philomena sermonizes her parents, her brothers and sisters, her fellow-nuns, her Superior, her confessor—every one, apparently, with whom she comes in contact. There was something about her, however, some peculiar charm, besides her renown as a Saint, which made people rather like to be sermonized by her. Where this tendency revolts us is in her narrative of supernatural visions, when she tells St. Michael what he is to do, and when she adopts almost the same tone even to the Divinity, and exclaims: "O my God! You were very right

to cry out that you did not know what more to do!"<sup>1</sup> Or again: "It seems to me indeed, my Father, that the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity in some way strive in rivalry to beautify my soul with gifts and celestial graces."<sup>2</sup> She speaks of herself as arriving at such boldness as to make a kind of forcible compact with our Lord, and to debate conditions with Him.<sup>3</sup> As the Sisters who watched her said: "She *argued* with the Divine Master." This is hardly the attitude of the old-world Saints when they felt themselves really and indeed in the presence of God—of Job, of Isaiah, of Daniel, of St. Peter! And if we consider the matter, as well as the manner, of these visions and revelations, our hesitation to accept them increases. We cannot help asking ourselves: Are these real facts? are these in any sense genuine visions? Or, what is of more importance, Can this teaching be Divine? One of her earliest visions is thus related. She had been praying for one who, she knew in spirit, was making a bad confession, and the devil, leaving the subject of her intercessions, attacked herself:—

"While the devil was hovering about me," she says, "I felt myself touched very gently on my right shoulder, and, turning round, I saw a most beautiful Angel, who invited me to follow him into the smaller choir, next to that of the Community. It seemed to me that I obeyed neither against my will nor with my own free-will, as I was no longer mistress of my faculties. On entering the place I saw Jesus and Mary. They spoke to me tenderly,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 131, 181.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 135, 201, 204.

and invited me to rest in their sweet company after the fatigue which I had experienced in praying for the soul of whom I have spoken above, and also from the assaults and attacks of the devil. I remained still with astonishment, not knowing what I ought to do; when it seemed to me that the Mother and the Son made me taste some exquisite food, and drink a celestial and wholly divine liquid. The taste of this food made me take a disgust to all earthly nourishment, at the same time that it left in my soul an ineffaceable sweetness.”<sup>1</sup>

One of Philomena's peculiarities was that she could not concentrate her mind on prayer, or on meditation, least of all on any fixed subject recommended to her, while reading was an especial annoyance to her. Her state of bodily exhaustion from habitually insufficient nourishment seems to be quite enough to account for this lack of power of concentration. But what are we to think of revelations such as this?—In the beginning of 1863 Philomena was praying in her cell; the Divine Master appeared to her, and said: “Philomena, I do not wish henceforth that thou shouldest employ thy time in reading. Thy book shall be the contemplation of My painful passion.”<sup>2</sup> She speaks later of this vision thus:—

“With regard to what He charged me three years ago, namely, that my reading should be the book of His passion, ever open to those who wish to study it, I have in fact since then ceased all reading, for I cannot get any benefit from it. If I have sometimes a little time for study, it is impossible for me to apply my mind to it, or to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> p. 101.

remember what I have read, however much I may wish to do so." <sup>1</sup>

Again, when describing her visions with the Archangel Michael, whom she would make the third member of her new Trinity, she says: "Up to that time I had neither made use of any book, nor studied anything on so sublime a subject, since the Lord absolutely forbids me to employ my time in any reading, however little or however good it may be." <sup>2</sup>

So with her excessive fasting, and the weakness of digestion, her longing for food, and yet her loathing of it when presented to her. All this, the natural result of an unnatural way of life, is said to have been the command of our Lord. She marks especially three stages in her fasting, beyond the ordinances of the Church, and the additional fasting of the Order of the Capuchins. First of all, the Lord forbade her to eat fish. Then she heard a call to further suffering: she was forbidden to eat pottage of any kind; and finally she was to be satisfied with bread and water. She was directed, she avers, to take only a little bread, once a day,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 139-140.

<sup>2</sup> "*Denique qualibet imago vel cogitatio de rebus caducis, sed et cogitatio de angelis, item cogitatio de passione Domini, et quævis cogitatio intellectualis, hominem in hac mortali vita impedit, quando ad mysticam cum supersubstantiali superintellectualique Deo unionem consurgere vult. Ea ergo hora, hujusmodi sanctæ cogitationes atque imagines (quæ alias utilissime, et suscipiuntur et retinentur) declinandæ relinquendaque sunt: quia medium aliquod constituunt inter animam et Deum.*" *Opuscula Ascetica*, Ludovici Blossii (1506-1563), *Institutio Spiritualis*, p. 189 (Lethielleux, Parisiis, 1899).

towards evening.<sup>1</sup> At the command of her confessor she occasionally added some fruit or vegetables; but at last, in conjunction with "Sister Asunta," she would pass the whole week fasting, one of them fasting three days and the other four, week and week about. It is not astonishing that as these fastings increased, so her physical suffering grew worse, her nervous system more strained; so that paroxysms of agony or of rapture alternated, and her visions became more frequent and more startling. And all this time she seems to have been looked upon with greater reverence by her confessor and by those around her. Her revelations now became prophetic: she foretells what will happen in her own monastery, or in the neighbouring monasteries. Then comes the greatest event of her life, the mission of St. Michael in 1867. He appears to her, and bids her "make known to men the great power which I have with the Most High. Tell them," he says, "to ask of me all they wish. Tell them that my power in favour of those devoted to me is without limit. Make known my greatness."<sup>2</sup> Several times, now, on different days, our Lord reveals to her that "He would add two precious jewels to His Heart for its perpetual glory;"—by which she understands (1)

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 162–165. St. Vincent Ferrier, a Valencian Saint (1357–1419), who preached much in Catalonia, lays down this rule for Dominican monks: "*Hoc autem habeas pro regula generali, ut saltem de pane comedas sufficienter, quantum natura requirit, specialiter dum jejunas; nec unquam credas diabolo suadenti tibi facere abstinentiam de pane.*" *Opuscula Ascetica Sancti Vincentii Ferrerii*, editio nova, p. 39. (Lethielleux, Parisiis, 1899.)

<sup>2</sup> p. 187.

Mary Immaculate, (2) the Archangel Michael. Then she hears these words:—

“This new Trinity must be blessed and glorified on earth, as is the Unity of the Three Divine Persons in Heaven. Happy the nation, happy the country or the monastery which shall be fired with this devotion. Write all that thou knowest of it.”<sup>1</sup>

A long account follows of the apparition of the Heart of Jesus, of Mary, and of St. Michael, as this new Trinity, under the form of a triangle, and a detailed exposition of these appearances, the narrative concluding with an earnest appeal to her confessor to propagate this new devotion.

“It may be said,” she writes to him, “that between Jesus, Mary and the Archangel Michael there is but one will, but one desire. Oh, a thousand times happy are those devoted to them, devoted to the most Holy Heart of Jesus, or more, to that of His Immaculate Mother, or still more, to the Seraphic Archangel St. Michael; for, as I have remarked, the glory that each one of them receives [from this devotion] will be equally shared by the two others.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> p. 195. Speaking on a prize-day at the school of St. Charles at St. Brieuc in Brittany, July 24, 1900, Admiral de Cuverville told his hearers: “Three devotions have been and always will be particularly dear to me. First of all the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass celebrated every Friday in my own cabin, but open to all the officers and crew. Then the special protection of the Sacred Heart, and the devotion, so dear to Breton sailors, of St. Anne, Queen of the Bretons, and of Mary, Star of the Sea; these two devotions are but one; in our invocations we never separate the Mother from the Daughter. On the other hand, during these later years, I have striven to revive a devotion (*culte*) that was dear to our



There are other visions of our Lord, who gives to her the ring of faith, and of St. Joseph, who clothes her with a white veil which covers her from head to foot. The gift of the ring of faith "has remained," she says, "so profoundly graven in my soul, that it has not been possible for me to hesitate or doubt for a single instant on any point whatever of the belief in the most sacred mysteries of this holy religion."<sup>1</sup>

Now, these extraordinary visions occurred to Philomena mainly in the last two years of her life. Let us see what was her state of health, her bodily condition, during this time. On Whit Sunday, 1866, she pronounced what she calls "the vow of the most perfect." This vow, containing thirty-three articles, is too long to transcribe here. I will

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fathers, that of St. Michael, too much neglected among us. St. Michael, the conqueror of Satan, the angel of the Incarnation, the guardian angel of the Holy Family, the Angel of the Garden of Gethsemane, the guardian angel of the Holy Eucharist, the angel protector of the Papacy; this for the whole Church! St. Michael, the angel of France at the baptistery of Rheims, it was he who armed Jeanne d'Arc for its deliverance, who received from our fathers the title of Guardian Angel of the French Fatherland. Ah! young folks, be faithful to the devotion to the great Archangel; never was his help more needed."

"This threefold devotion, this mystic Trinity, is all-powerful to raise up nations that have fallen, as we learn from the revelations granted to a young Spanish nun, Philomene de Sainte Colombe, who died in 1868 in the odour of sanctity, in the monastery of Vals; this threefold devotion, I assure you, has been the source of numerous favours to me. Incredulity may sneer, and shrug its shoulders, I oppose facts to it. But the time is too short to permit me to enter into details." *Les Questions Actuelles*, tome lv. p. 146-7. (La Bonne Presse, 5 Rue Bayard, Paris, 1900.)

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 202.

take the parts only which throw light on her mode of life. Her day began at 2 a.m., with sundry devotions; then she prepared herself for more formal prayer. "Before beginning it I shall give myself a severe scourging with an iron chain; then I shall put a crown of thorns upon my head, a cord round my neck, and a heavy weight upon my shoulders; then, after the example of my Divine Saviour, I shall follow His steps on the road to Calvary, visiting the Way of the Cross. At three o'clock I shall begin my prayers, and continue till six, imitating Jesus in His three hours' prayer in the garden of Gethsemane, persevering in it in spite of all pains and sadness. After that I join the Sisters in reciting the Divine Office, preparing my soul to receive the Living Bread from Heaven. After the Sacrifice of the Mass, and thanksgivings for it, I shall occupy myself with the ordinary occupations of the Community. . . . My daily penances shall be, constantly wearing a hair-cloth shirt, daily disciplines [*i.e.* whippings], fasting on bread and water three times a week, and adding to this a Lent from St. Matthew's Day to All Saints' Day, and from the first of May to Ascension Day. During these Lents I shall eat once only in forty-eight hours, and what is served in the refectory, taking only the worst food. For other meals I shall be contented with bread and water. I shall abstain from sweets, fruits, and from all such things." At night her devotions last till eleven o'clock. And she adds: "Taking extreme care of my virginal purity I shall sleep in my clothes. Once a year, and not oftener, for the Festival of

the Immaculate Conception, I shall take off my under-garment, which my Superiors allow me to wear, in order to wash it.”<sup>1</sup>

It is pitiable to remark that neither this pre-occupation of her virginity, nor her excessive austerities, seem to have preserved her from the temptations of the flesh. “Our Saviour,” writes her confessor, “permitted this soul, so valiant and so pure, to know to its extreme limits the malice which Satan can employ to trouble, when he cannot defile the hearts consecrated, and the bodies vowed to virginal chastity.”<sup>2</sup>

In order to understand fully this conduct, we must know what is the ordinary way of life and diet of the barefooted Minimes. Their rule is never to eat flesh meat, their most substantial food being fresh fish. This diet is what Philomena thought to be too luxurious. First, as we have seen, she gave up fish, then vegetable soups, then she took only the refuse of the vegetables, then she confined herself for three or four days a week, or for weeks together, to bread and water, taken once a day. If we can believe her confessor, the last year of her life she went even beyond the vow of the most perfect: “On a formal order of the Divine Master, ratified by her Superiors, she began, on the first of May, 1867, a new fast, which lasted until the Eve of the Ascension, that is to say, the last day but one of the month. During this time she ate nothing but a morsel of bread, and that only on Sunday. As to the other six days, her

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 146-155.

<sup>2</sup> p. 96.

only nourishment was the Holy Communion.<sup>1</sup> When the Festival of the Ascension came she ceased this abstinence, and resumed her ordinary practice, which was to fast on bread and water three times a week."<sup>2</sup>

The discipline, or whip, was used in the Order on certain days. Philomena used hers daily, and it was much more severe than the ordinary instrument. She spent several days, unknown to all, in making it out of iron chain-links. She then brought it to her confessor, who at first would not allow her to use it, but at length permitted her to do so on two conditions: first, that she should not make blood flow; next, that she should not use it beyond the time which he had fixed. He asked afterwards if he had been obeyed. She replied: "My Father, my good Jesus wishes me to obey you in everything, and as you forbade me to make blood flow, instead of blood there comes out water; and besides, the wounds which the chains make close of themselves at each fresh discipline."<sup>3</sup> Yet a few pages on we are told of blood flowing freely under the scourge, and of her writing a prayer with her own blood. But this was not all. She wore round her neck two heavy chains, which crossed on her chest, and were wound round her waist; she girded herself with a brass cincture, two inches wide, bristling with sharp points; and she had a

<sup>1</sup> Living solely upon the Sacrament is marked among the errors of the *Alumbrados* in Spain. *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*, by Henry Charles Lea, LL.D., p. 303. (Philadelphia, 1890.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> p. 81.

kind of shirt, sharper than a hair-cloth shirt, made of stiff rushes, with hard points. Under her head-dress she put on a crown of thorns, which she had taken from a crucifix, and as there were not thorns enough, or sharp enough, she added needles.<sup>1</sup> And with all this self-torture she slept but three hours each night, often on the bare ground, with a log for her pillow. We can well believe that, as she says to her confessor in a letter dated September 8, 1867—within a year of her death—from the soles of her feet to the crown of her head, she had “no sound part.” What else could be the result of such an existence?<sup>2</sup>

Philomena would have us believe that her physical sufferings brought only enhanced spiritual delight; that they led her to God in blissful intercourse; that they were so many favours vouchsafed to her by the Beloved. So she writes, in the letter to which reference has just been made: “You know, my Father, all my infirmities. I feel such satisfaction in them that I would not exchange my lot for that even of the blessed. Oh, too lovely sufferings! Oh, sweet and adorable Cross, which gains such good for my soul! My Father, I bless God for ever, Who loves me so much. Either love or

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 104-5.

<sup>2</sup> p. 175. An example of almost greater mortification is given in the life of Madame Duchesne, the Apostle of the Sacred Heart in America (1769-1852). One of her companions, Anna Shannon, an Irish lady, “in the heat of summer in Louisiana, for the honour of the Sacred Heart, resolved not to drink once during the whole month of June (the month dedicated to the Sacred Heart), and kept her resolution.” *Les Contemporains*, No. 454, June 23, 1901. (La Bonne Presse, Paris.)

die.”<sup>1</sup> And yet, alas! there is a dark other side. Fits of depression, clouds of despair, are even more common than sunlit raptures and periods of joyfulness. Her confessor writes:—

“When I think of the bitter desolation and darkness which invaded her soul in the absence of Jesus, an absence not at all infrequent; when I see her face to face with the infernal enemy, fighting against the terrible temptations of despair, wrestling against the diabolical insinuation that Mary herself, Mary, *the refuge of sinners*, had also abandoned her for ever on account of her wretchedness; when I remembered that her mind was so possessed with the idea of her own baseness and misery, that when she knelt at the Holy Table, ready to receive the Host, I have seen her all at once rise and draw back, as if an invisible hand had violently repulsed her from the sanctuary, where, she feared, in communicating, to commit a horrible sacrilege—when, I say, I think of all this anguish, I believe that I may rightly say that the Lord kept her really nailed upon the cross.”<sup>2</sup>

She herself describes these sufferings in a letter dated August 22, 1866, two years before her death in the following terms:—

“If I were, for my sins, excommunicated, driven from the convent, thrown into a dark dungeon, loaded with irons and chains, suffering shame and hunger, I think that all these tortures, and others

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 176–7.

<sup>2</sup> p. 108. “*Nonnulli in fervidis ad Deum aspirationibus se exercentes, grandem sæpe cruciatum sentiunt.*” L. Blosius, *Institutio Spiritualis*, p. 190.

added to them, could not equal one moment of the anguish which I now endure." <sup>1</sup>

How pathetic are her accounts of the temptations (as she considered them) caused by excessive fasting!

"The devil pictures vividly to my imagination the most exquisite meats, the most delicate savours; and that everywhere, in the choir, in my cell, in the places furthest removed from the kitchen. . . . On the days when I may eat, I feel all the same an insatiable hunger, and often, after my meal, I have a greater appetite than on the days when I do not touch a morsel." <sup>2</sup>

At other times she loathes all food: "One day, He [*i.e.* the Lord] inspired me with a disgust and want of appetite so great, that I suffered atrociously at meal times. Sometimes it was an insatiable appetite; but all that I ate did not do me the least good, and I was almost falling from weakness. At other times He gave me the appearance of good health and of being more robust than usual—thus at least I appeared in the eyes of the Sisters—but in reality, I had no strength at all, and suffered unspeakable pains, which I strove to hide as much as possible, as far as the body was concerned." <sup>3</sup>

And when we ask what was the issue of all these terrible austerities, what work Philomena did in the world, or even in her convent world, the answer is very perplexing. She is claimed, as Saint Teresa was, as a Reformer of her Order; yet all that she accomplished seems to be limited to two things,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 171-2.

<sup>2</sup> p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> p. 162.

one of which was not carried into effect until after her death. The first is, that the Sisters, according to the letter of their Rule, should go barefooted. But if we look at the portrait affixed to the volume, we see that her feet are bare indeed, but she wears sandals! That is to say, she left off wearing stockings! Now, Philomena Ferrer seems to have belonged to the artisan class. In her day, twenty-five or thirty years ago, the peasant-farmers and labourers of both sexes, but especially women, went habitually barefooted, throughout the Pyrenees and Northern Spain. Women and girls going to market, or to church, stopped outside the town or village to put on their shoes and stockings, and took them off when returning. The other reform, which was not effected until after her death, was to rise for the midnight service. Throughout the life there is this exaggeration of the doings of the cloister in her own and the neighbouring convents. She imagines that they are to be the first to propagate through the world the worship of the New Trinity, the Very Sweet Heart of Jesus, His Mother, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, and the Archangel St. Michael. She hears Jesus saying to her: "The Community of the Minimes, which thou inhabitest, and which is so dear to Me, that of the Carmel of Vals, and that of the barefooted Carmelites of Tarragona are to fast," etc., "so as to obtain blessings for the whole world."<sup>1</sup> The recital of these visions and revelations form almost her last writings, and they show the highest point to which she attained.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 199.



It is noteworthy, that in perusing this life we find a significant change in devotions from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Santa Teresa heads her letters "Jesus," only. Philomena, as customary now, heads hers "J. M. J."—Jesus, Mary, Joseph. Santa Teresa is named as one of those who advanced the worship of St. Joseph ; but we may read many of her works without discovering any trace of such a worship. The *culte* of the Sacred Heart was unknown to her. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception had not yet been made an Article of Faith. She would never have made St. Michael a member of the Trinity, "Jesus, Mary Immaculate, the Archangel Michael." All this, however, is done by Philomena ; she is beatified for it, and the process of her canonization is still going on. What would the great Fathers of the primitive Church, Athanasius, Hilary, have said to the introduction of such a Trinity ? However many visions and revelations might be claimed for it, would they have considered the promulgator of it a Saint ?

Of Philomena herself I have no wish to write harshly. She lived with the greatest earnestness up to the ideal set before her. She did all for God. She was taught that suffering was pleasing to God, and she inflicted suffering on herself for His sake, to such a degree as to embitter the soul with despair, and to shorten her bodily life. She seems to have been admirable and singularly attractive in all her relations. She was loved and revered by all. The testimony of her father, her brother and sister is most touching in this respect. But what

have we to say to the conduct of her Superiors and Confessor, who encouraged her in her self-tortures, by permitting them? With what indignation would the recital of these long-continued tortures, especially those of the last two years, have been heard in the law-courts, and have been reported on in the papers, had they been inflicted against her will! What pity would have been lavished on the unfortunate victim! All real feeling seems to have been absorbed in the idea that these self-inflicted sufferings were the greatest marks of God's grace, and that He thus willed them. Is this Christianity?

Philomena's canonization demands miracles after death, as well as before. Here is one, wrought after death: One of the Sisters sent to a nun belonging to another convent, who was said to be dying of consumption, a chip of the rush shirt which Philomena wore, with nine little notes, each containing an invocation of her. One of these notes was to be burnt each day, and the ashes swallowed in water. On taking the ashes of the first note burnt the girl was completely cured. But another nun, ill of cancer, who did the same thing, died soon after. In the latter case it is said that God granted the prayer of the Sister. She wished to die! <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See for these and other miracles, Chapitre xvi., *Gloire posthume*, pp. 233-243.

## X

### LA PETITE ÉGLISE<sup>1</sup>

THE first French Revolution, while transforming the government, civil administration, and social state of France, produced at first an even greater, though more temporary, change in the religious and ecclesiastical condition of the country. One hundred and thirty of the archbishops and bishops had emigrated ; the greater part to England, some to Germany, Spain, Italy, and America. Of the parish priests, some had followed their bishops into exile ; some were transported or imprisoned ; others remained at their posts, to be guillotined, or to die in the pitiless massacres of the Revolution, or to lie hidden in their parishes, guarded by the people, to whose religious needs they ministered as far as it was possible to do so in secret. It was a time of trial and of sifting. Only four bishops abjured their office : the defections were more in number, but perhaps not more in proportion, among the priests. As seen in other countries, the secular clergy came out of the furnace better than the monks and the cloistered orders. Two-thirds of the latter renounced their vows, and it was

<sup>1</sup> *La Petite Église, Essai Historique*, par le R. P. J. E. B. Drochon. (Paris, La Bonne Presse, 1894.)

observed that many of them fell far more deeply into sin than did the priests who had resigned their office. The women, however, were far more constant than the men ; very few of the nuns proving unfaithful to their vows. As a whole, the Gallican Church emerged most nobly from her trial. The constitution of the clergy had seemed before too aristocratic in its higher, too cringing and subservient in its lower orders. Religious learning had almost disappeared ; while the teachings of the Encyclopædists, and their anti-Christian philosophy were supposed to have eaten deep into the minds of all. Many of the leaders of the Revolution really believed that the clergy were charlatans, and that they did not truly hold the doctrines which they taught. They thought that priests, monks and nuns would, in great part, have gladly seized the opportunity to discard vows which made them a caste apart, and to throw in their lot with their fellow-citizens in a free and rejuvenated nation. But such expectations were disappointed. The Revolution revealed far more martyrs, confessors, true and valiant servants of the faith, than faithless and apostates. The Revolution massacred, guillotined, imprisoned, exiled ; it set up the Goddess of Reason on the profaned altars ; then, as if startled at its own excess, it proclaimed a pure Deism ; then it tried a fettered Church, working under the supreme control of the civil power. But the nation never really accepted any of these. In 1801 Napoleon, then the first Consul, saw that France could never be a fit instrument for his ambition until it was re-united to the Church, and

to the head of the Church, from which the Revolution had divorced it against its will.

Hence arose the Concordat of 1801. But how vast were the difficulties in framing it ! how difficult, almost impossible, was it to reconcile the divergent claims and rights ! Again and again some Gordian knot would be encountered which only the sword could cut. Old precedents had perforce to be laid aside ; older Canon law to be violated. Napoleon, on the one side, had to exert his despotic power to sweep away obstacles which the Revolution had created ; the Pope, on the other hand, had to put forth, practically, all the might of an infallible authority, to act as above all canonical rules and lesser orders of the Church. There was no other solution possible. Napoleon wilfully abused his power. Pius VII., while contending firmly for what he believed to be essential, showed the greatest wish for conciliation, and gave proof after proof of his self-abnegation.

The bishops, when they had abandoned their dioceses in 1789, had for the most part offered their resignation to the Pope ; but this resignation had not been accepted. With at least the connivance of his Holiness, they had been directing their sees from abroad all through the period of the dechristianization of France—through the era of the Civil Constitution of the clergy, which neither the Pope nor the Church had recognized—by means of priests who acted as their vicars-general, and who remained behind at the peril of their lives. They had put forth *mandements* for the direction of the faithful, condemnatory of the sale of Church

property, of civil marriage, of the sacrilegious administration of the Sacraments, and had forbidden the recognition of the priests unlawfully intruded into the parishes under their jurisdiction. These bishops, who had numbered 131 at the time of the emigration, were only 81 in 1802; and they were now asked by the Pope, after years of suffering and exile, to resign their sees, with the certainty that many of these sees would be suppressed, that some at least of the intruding "constitutional" bishops would be appointed in their place, and that even more of the faithful parish-priests would be supplanted. They were to consent not only to the loss of their property, to the alienation of the wealth that had been attached from time immemorial to their sees, but they were to sanction acts which they had again and again denounced as sacrilegious and unlawful. They were henceforth to receive their salaries from the civil power, and to take oath of allegiance to one whom they regarded as an usurper. Is it any wonder that, out of the 81, 36 at first, joined shortly afterwards by two others, refused to resign their sees, signing a protest against the Pope's demand, and against the Concordat?

Pius VII., however, knew, as they did not, the real state of affairs in the France from which they had been absent so long. In spite of all his subsequent ill-treatment by Napoleon, he never forgot that it was to him that was due the re-establishment of Christianity in the country. He saw the miserable state of the people, the paucity of even constitutional bishops and priests, how a whole

generation was growing up in practical atheism. Marriages, however irregular in Canon law, must be legalized. The restitution of Church property, which, in the violent changes of so many years, had passed through several hands, was impossible. If this opportunity of a reconciliation, of a concordat on almost any terms, were lost, all chance of reuniting France with the Papacy might also slip away. Many members of Napoleon's Council were urgent to establish Protestantism as a State religion, rather than to restore Catholicism. Hence, with a regret deeply felt, and touchingly expressed, he chose the lesser evil. He gave up much himself; he suffered much; he asked the bishops, who had endured so long, to add yet one more voluntary sacrifice, the resignation of their sees, to their other trials. It has been well said: "All who have any knowledge of history must allow that never, since the time of our Lord, was a like sacrifice required of the whole episcopate of any great nation."<sup>1</sup> One can hardly wonder if to these bishops this seemed the bitterest drop of all, the one thing which they could not do. And there seemed no necessity for new bishops. Under the Concordat there were to be only ten archbishops and fifty bishops; the lawful bishops numbered eighty-one. To uphold the indefeasible right of bishops seemed to them to be upholding the cause of the Universal Church. While forty-three of their number resigned, thirty-eight refused to resign at the Pope's request; and, in spite of the effacement and redistribution of their dioceses, in spite of the appointment of other

<sup>1</sup> Drochon, p. 260.

bishops directly by the Pope, they still claimed to be the only lawful occupants of their sees; they still acted as such, and regarded all other bishops and priests as intruders, or at most as papal delegates holding office only for a time.

This was the origin of *La Petite Église*, in opposition to the Church of the Concordat. After the Concordat, the religious world of France was divided between *Concordataires* and *Anti-Concordataires*, as it had been before between the Constitutional and the Royalist bishops and priests, between the *assermentés* and the *insermentés*—those who had taken the oath to the Revolution, though forbidden to do so by the Pope, and those who, in obedience to him, had refused it. But the vast majority of Frenchmen now adhered to the Pope, to the Concordat, and to the bishops and priests appointed under it.

The thirty-eight bishops who had refused to resign their sees, signed, in London, a protest, the *réclamations* of 1803. Those whose dioceses had been conferred on the constitutional bishops of the Revolution were especially emphatic. As far as possible, they continued to act as if they were the only bishops of their ancient sees, calling upon all priests and laymen to obey them, and them only. This action had a very different effect in different parts of France, and even in different portions of the same diocese. In many dioceses it was scarcely felt: all submitted, either gladly or with indifference, to the new order. In others, where the resistance to the Revolution had been greater, where loyalty to the old monarchy had not yet died out—



in La Vendée, in Normandy, in the diocese of Lyons, in some of the Provinces of the South—many followed the old bishops, and refused to acknowledge the new. In some districts of the old diocese of La Rochelle, and in parts of Normandy, whole parishes were faithful to the old order, and continued their services in the parish church, with their old curé, just as before. In the difficulty at first experienced of getting properly qualified priests, the new bishops, some perforce, some in the interest of peace, willingly overlooked this irregularity.<sup>1</sup> In other parishes, when a Concordatory priest was appointed, the whole, or almost the whole, congregation, left the church on his appearing, taking with them all the ornaments and the sacred vessels; and the new curé had to procure others how and where he could. Even this added to the dislike with which the intruders were regarded. A missal with red, instead of gilt or plain edges, aroused intense horror in the minds of the ignorant and prejudiced peasantry. "What is that book he uses? We have never seen such." "It is the book of Bonaparte, the book of divorce," was the malicious answer; and they shrank from the priest with dismay. Thus the lot, even of the Concordatory priests, though sustained by their bishops, and by the whole might of the civil power, was at first far from a pleasant one. But the condition of the priests of La Petite Église soon became far worse. It was only in a very few parishes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Bourgain, *L'Église de France et de l'État au Dix-neuvième Siècle* (1802-1900), tome i, pp. 36-39. 2 vols. (C. Douniol, Paris, 1901.)

that they were supported by the majority. They were widely scattered, often quite isolated. Sometimes it was only in one or two places in a province, in parishes where the old priest had remained among his people through all the dangers of the Revolution, risking his life a hundred times for them, that the new curé and the priests and bishops appointed by the Concordat were rejected. The civil power had long persecuted them. Were they now to accept at its dictation another priest in place of him who had kept the faith so well? "The change from wolf to shepherd," wrote one of the old bishops, "was so astonishing a fact that it was no wonder the people could not accustom themselves to it." "In so difficult a matter," wrote another, "where the conscience is acted upon by opposing motives, it would seem that no one has a right to reproach any for following that which seems to him to have the greater obligation."

The bishops and priests, old, exiled, at first never dreamed of making a schism. They were each looking only to what was right in his individual case, not thinking of what should come after. Yet nothing shows more the danger of schism, the fatal incline along which it insensibly slides into error and all kinds of mischief, than the history of *La Petite Église*. The protests, respectful and moderate at first, gradually became more bitter, and at length even extravagant in their denunciations of the action of Pius VII. Those who had fought for the rights of the collective episcopacy, and the strict letter of the Canon law, came at last to hold, in practice, tenets like those of the

Plymouth Brethren, that every man and woman is a Priest and Soldier of Christ: those who had protested against the action of the Pope in overruling general law, acted as if each bishop were a Pope in his own diocese, and above all law.

One thing, however, they did not do. They did not consecrate fresh bishops, or ordain new priests; they took no steps for keeping up a succession of bishops in the dioceses, or of priests in the parishes. This course of action had both its good and evil side. As the latest writer on *La Petite Église* observes: "One trembles when one thinks of what the frightful results of this schism might have been, if the first bishops, persevering in their revolt, had ordained priests and consecrated bishops, as did the Jansenists of Utrecht. The error then, instead of being a mere local accident, might have invaded the whole of France, and would have recruited adepts everywhere, if not among the most learned, generally at least among the most pious of the Catholic laity."<sup>1</sup>

The bishops and priests who maintained *La Petite Église* were, however, mostly old men. Of the 132 who originally emigrated, 51 bishops were already deceased in 1801. Of the 38 who made the schism, 29 were dead by 1815, and after 1820 a few priests were the heads of the diminishing Church. In the view of many of the older bishops, allegiance to the ancient Church and to the old monarchy were inextricably mingled, and at the restoration of the Bourbons several of these sub-

<sup>1</sup> *La Petite Église*, par R. P. J. E. B. Drochon. Pref. xiii.-xiv. (Paris, 1894.)

mitted both to Pope and king. Then again in 1817 a fresh Concordat, signed by the Pope, the king, and the bishops, though it never became law, gave occasion to all but one to return to the fold. Thémines, Bishop of Blois, alone held out. From 1817 to his death, in 1829, he acted as universal bishop of La Petite Église. He pushed the doctrine of Apostolic Succession to an extreme. Looking forward to his approaching end he wrote : "The first Apostles of Gaul will soon have no more successors ; the divine Founder will soon have no more envoys there."<sup>1</sup> He speaks of it as the day of Apostolicide, of the extinction of the Apostolic Succession. He tried to direct all the dioceses in which were members of La Petite Église from his exile in Brussels. Yet even he submitted to the Pope on his death-bed, and died reconciled to the Church.<sup>2</sup> A few years more, and the fate that had overtaken the bishops fell on the priests also, the last priest dying in 1847.<sup>3</sup>

Sad indeed is the story of the condition of the little Church during these last years, after the last priest had died. Those who still adhered to it were scattered in small bodies in various parts of France, in Normandy, in Poitou, in Lyon, in Gascony. The facilities of communication were not then what they are now. In some parishes the priests died early ; in others, far distant, they

<sup>1</sup> Drochon, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. W. Henley Jervis in *The Gallican Church and the Revolution*, p. 395, implies that Bp. Thémines never recanted ; but the documents printed by P. Drochon seem to prove his submission beyond doubt, pp. 212-3.

<sup>3</sup> Drochon, p. 226.

lingered long. How were the people to continue the Sacraments? Baptism might be administered by the laity; but who was to conduct the services of the Church, who to receive confession, who to give absolution, to perform the Sacrifice of the Mass? How were they to have the Presence in their assemblies, to receive the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, to give It the adoration that was its due? Who was to bless their marriages, to give religious instruction to the children, to soothe their dying hours, to give the supreme consolation of the last Rites of the Church, to conduct the funerals? All these questions were pressing with ever-increasing urgency on the little Church. At first it seemed that recruits, of priests at least, might be gained from the ranks of those clergy of the Church of the Concordat who were disgusted at its working; but experience soon showed that the priests thus gained had, almost to a man, some shameful reason for leaving the Church of their ordination, and the supply ceased. Then the most respected of the laity took their place, and conducted the ordinary offices of the Church, with only an occasional visit from a priest; but these visits became more and more rare, and at length failed altogether. A few nuns, or pious women taught by them, used to receive confessions, and then journey many a weary mile to the nearest priest, to whom they repeated the confession, and from whom they brought back absolution to the dying penitent. Longer and more trying journeys still had to be undertaken in order to bring back the consecrated Wafer, the Host whose Presence

would hallow their assemblies, before which they might kneel in prayer and adoration.<sup>1</sup> In 1825 Bishop Thémînes was obliged to declare the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers, as the sole means of maintaining the existence of La Petite Église: "Many assert that the laity ought not to meddle with religious matters: I tell you, on the contrary, that the Apostolic Succession is the saving dogma of the world, *Omnis homo miles*, every man a soldier."<sup>2</sup>

Still some of the older laity were left, men of real piety and instruction, who could preserve the older traditions of the Church. These, however, dropped off one by one; many of them, when bishop and priest failed them, joining the national Church. Then women took their place. Strange

<sup>1</sup> Some of these consecrated Hosts were preserved for many years, and hence arises the curious liturgical question: "How long does the real Presence remain after consecration?" It is difficult to give a precise answer: but we may infer something from the recommendations of the Church as to the Eucharist. The Roman Ritual says: "The priest shall frequently renew the portions of the most holy Eucharist, which may be understood by twice every month, after the use and prescriptions of most dioceses." The Sacred Congregation of Rites says: "Once a week it shall be renewed . . . but it seems to us hard to believe in the permanence of the Real Presence in Hosts, preserved seven or eight years in a barn at Taulan." *La Petite Église*, pp. 360-1 note.

In the Plenary Council of Latin America, held at Rome in 1899, the rule is laid down: "quinque saltem Particulæ consecratæ assidue servantur in tabernaculo, quæ, octavo quoque die, vel, si loci humiditas id requirat, etiam sæpius renoventur," no. 370, *ad finem*.

"The Diocese of Perpignan has the remarkable privilege of possessing in a state of marvellous preservation five centenary Hosts consecrated during the worst storms of the Revolution." *La Semaine de Bayonne*, January 18, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Drochon, p. 211.

opinions crept in here and there, laxity in some, undue and excessive severity and asceticism in others, largely prevailing. The bitterness of sectarianism increased, with an almost fanatic hatred of Pius VII. and of the Church of the Concordat. But, worst of all, the children were growing up uninstructed, and the band that had been noted, even by their enemies, for piety and strict morality, began to be indifferent and irreligious. There came the unreasoning attachment, the obstinate clinging to what their fathers had held under different circumstances, the spirit of separation for separation's sake ; for, except in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, there was never any strictly dogmatic divergence between La Petite Église and the national Church. Overtures from the remnant of the Jansenists, from Protestant bodies of various kinds, from the Church of Utrecht, were constantly rejected. To the essentials of the Roman Catholic Faith, as far as they have been able to do so, they have clung to the end. Widely as we may differ from them, for this we cannot but honour them.

At length it seems probable that the members of this little Church, if Church it can be called which has remained since 1847 without priests, without sacraments, without any of the ordinary means of grace, will listen to the earnest invitation which Pope Leo XIII., following the example of his predecessors, has addressed to it by his Brief to the Bishop of Poitiers, July 19, 1893, and will return to the Church of Rome. The schism has not been one of fundamental doctrine,<sup>1</sup> but of matters of

<sup>1</sup> Yet La Petite Église may be considered as a protest

discipline, and of the proper relations between Church and State. The story of La Petite Église, like that of our own Non-jurors,<sup>1</sup> is full of instruction and of warning. It tells plainly the mischief of schism, even when the originators of the schism are confessedly men of piety and earnestness. Cut off from the life of the Church, the vigour of the separated member soon becomes attenuated. But there is more than this to be learnt from the history of La Petite Église. Twice it seemed as if the larger Church were about to adopt its principles, and to justify its existence after all. The little Church opposed the undue influence of Napoleon in framing the Concordat of 1801. In 1810, after long forbearance, Pius VII. excommunicated Napoleon; but the Bull of Excommunication was not allowed to be published in the emperor's dominions. The French clergy, as a body, continued to offer the usual prayers in church for him, and the few who refused to pray for the excommunicated emperor were suspended, and gave occasion for fresh schisms,

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against the ultramontane doctrine of infallibility. The rise of this doctrine after the Concordat is thus sketched by M. L. Bourgain: "Le clergé, dépouillé de tout, n'a plus aucun avantage ni social ni légal: par conséquent, il est libre. Eh bien, n'ayant plus de motifs pour être gallican, il deviendra ultramontain." Vol. i. p. 15. A somewhat cynical defence of present ultramontaniam in France. The whole passage is worth reading.

<sup>1</sup> La Petite Église has produced no writers to compare with our non-juring divines. The names of Bishop Ken, of Spinckes, of W. Law—the author of *The Serious Call*—of Nelson, Hickes, and others have no parallel in La Petite Église. And an interesting question arises. Had all the old bishops accepted the Concordat of 1801, would modern ultramontaniam have become so exclusively the dominant mark of the French Church as is unhappily the case now?



which are often confounded with La Petite Église. Yet again, in 1817, a fresh Concordat was arranged with Pius VII., consented to by Louis XVIII., and by the French bishops and clergy, by which the Pope undid his former work, and gave La Petite Église almost all that they had contended for. The first four Articles of this Concordat were :

- Art. 1. The Concordat celebrated between the Sovereign Pontiff Leo X. and King Francis I. is re-established.
- Art. 2. As a consequence of the preceding article, the Concordat of July 15, 1801, ceases to have effect.
- Art. 3. The so-called Organic Articles, which were drawn up without the knowledge, and published without the approbation of his Holiness, April 8, 1802, are annulled, at the same time as the aforesaid Concordat of July 15, 1801, as to all that is opposed to the doctrine and laws of the Church.
- Art. 4. The sees which were suppressed in the kingdom of France by the Bull of his Holiness, Nov. 29, 1801, are restored in the number agreed by common accord as the most advantageous for the good of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

No wonder that when they heard of the acceptance of this Concordat by the king and the clergy, six out of the seven surviving bishops of La Petite Église submitted to the Pope. Only Bishop Thémines held out, to wait until the Concordat was legally adopted. But this legalization was impossible : no ministry of the Crown was strong enough to force it through a hostile parliament. The Concordat of 1817 never passed into law ; but the six bishops could not retract their submission. From 1817 to 1823 the French clergy

<sup>1</sup> I take this from the Spanish translation of Baron Henrion's *Historia general de la Iglesia*, tomo viii. p. 219. (Madrid, 1854.)

scarcely knew under which Concordat they were governed; that of 1801 was tacitly resumed, and is still law, but the dispute between the Government and the clergy as to whether the Organic Articles form part of it or not is still unsolved. Can there be a greater illustration of the ever-changing relations between Church and State, the impossibility of applying any unbending rules to them, or of establishing anything more stable than the best *modus vivendi* according to circumstances? The same Pope, as far as was in his power, destroyed the Concordat which he had himself established, and promulgated another which granted all the principles, the negation of which had caused the schism of La Petite Église, with all its subsequent errors and misfortunes!

At the end of a paper already too long, I may close with a quotation from the work of the latest historian of La Petite Église. Speaking of the charity of England to the *émigrés*, bishops and priests, of the Revolution, M. Drochon remarks: "Without any doubt it is to this kindness that England owes the movement of return to the Church of Rome which is now evident. The seed of heroic virtues then sown in the land by our French priests has slowly germinated, and the harvest is being gathered in this generation. We hail beforehand the happy day, perhaps close at hand, when this great nation, again become the Isle of Saints, shall resume its place in the Catholic family."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *La Petite Église*, p. 164.

## XI

F. R. DE LAMENNAIS (1782-1854); F. D. MAURICE  
(1805-1872)<sup>1</sup>

### *A Likeness and a Contrast.*

IT may seem strange to bring together these two names under one heading:—Maurice, the liberal Broad Anglican Churchman; Lamennais, the great promoter in France of those ultramontane ideas which issued in the proclamation of the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope by the Vatican Council of 1870. And the contrast appears still sharper if we consider the two lives. Maurice, brought up as a Unitarian, almost a Deist, fights his way through doubt to an acceptance of the

<sup>1</sup> F. D. MAURICE: *The Prayer-Book and the Lord's Prayer*. New Edition. (Macmillan, London, 1893.)

„ „ *Social Morality*. New Edition. (Macmillan, London.)

„ „ *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*. New Edition. (Macmillan, London.)

F. R. DE LAMENNAIS: *Correspondance*, par E. D. Forgues. Nouvelle Edition, 1863. (Didier, Paris.)

„ „ *Lamennais d'après sa Correspondance et les Travaux les plus Récents*, par R. P. Mercier. Nouvelle Edition, 1895. (Lecoffre, Paris.)

doctrines of the Church of England, and to a firm hold of the great truths of Catholic Orthodoxy; he dies honoured by all, and time does but add to the veneration of his memory. Lamennais, blessed with pious parents, educated in the strictest orthodoxy, held up in boyhood and youth as a model of piety, an eager proselytizer, gathering round him as disciples, or fellow-helpers, the foremost youth in the Church of France, impressing his ideas, as it has been given to few men to do, on the whole Roman Church, on the high road to great distinction, yet turns aside in mid-career. Relinquishing first his hold on Roman Catholicism, then on Christianity, he clings only to a vague Deism—if to that—rejects all offers of religious consolation on his death-bed, and is buried, with no religious rites, in a nameless pauper's grave.

If we look at the mental constitution of the two men, to their methods of reasoning, to their style, we find the like contrast. Maurice has all the faults of an English thinker and writer in an exaggerated degree. His logic and reasoning are so tortuous and involved, that we almost smile at the apparently wilful deviousness of their course; yet somehow, by paths which none but himself would ever have selected, which are a perpetual irritation to an impatient reader—somehow, he attains the right conclusion in the end. He is thoroughly practical in this, that he never lets a theory hide from him the practical outcome of his conclusions, but bends and twists his argument to bring it into accordance with his practice. Reasoning thus, his expression and

style are often curiously laboured and involved ; but through all this awkwardness the deep spirituality of the man and his intense earnestness glow with only a stronger light and heat ; and when he rises, as he does occasionally, to real eloquence, we feel that we are in the presence of no mere rhetorician, but of one who is striving to inculcate upon others the truths which are the life of his life, the very substance of his soul. Lamennais, on the other hand, was one of the finest writers of his day. His style, formed to a great extent on that of Rousseau, is one of those which, with Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo, has added warmth, colour, passion, and intensity to the crystal clearness and classical form of the French prose of the eighteenth century. There are passages of Lamennais, especially in his earlier works, which will live as models of beauty : there are chapters in his later works—for instance, in the *Paroles d'un Croyant*—which, though prose, are excelled in beauty of imagery and of rhythm only by the masterpieces of French verse. His logic goes straight to its point, regardless of obstacles, admitting no qualifications, reckless of consequences, sweeping all before it ; until at length the impediments which the writer would not see accumulate like an impassable barrier before him, and he dashes his system to pieces against them. Then, with the remains of this broken system he constructs another, which again fails him. The available remnants get fewer and fewer ; he has nothing wherewith to build anew ; his beliefs become almost wholly negative ; he broods in

silence ; he dies unblest. So he who was the hope of his Church, for a moment the foremost voice of Christianity, remains an enigma to his friends, an object of scorn to his adversaries. With all this vehemence and passion, with all the terrible sacrifices which he makes to his logic, we feel that if he had by chance taken up other premisses, he would have argued with equal power and vehemence to an opposite result. With Maurice, his beliefs are the man himself, which could not be different without destroying his spiritual identity.

Where, then, is the likeness between two such opposite characters ?

Maurice and Lamennais are alike in this, that neither could regard Christianity as a thing of merely individual life. To save one's own soul, apart from all others, glorying in the fewness of the elect, and more thankful for salvation on that account, both saw that this might be the highest selfishness, the very opposite of the spirit of true Christianity. Both looked at Christianity from the social and political side, not merely from its profit or importance to the isolated individual. To Maurice, preaching "the Kingdom of God" was not preaching Christ as Head or King of the Church in its separate aspect ; but Christ as King of all, of the whole nation, of the State as much as of the Church, of civil as well as of ecclesiastical, of social as well as of individual, of commercial and of industrial as well as of clerical or of religious life. Lamennais discovered, as he thought, a new and irrefragable proof of the truth of Christianity from the universal consent of all peoples. All that had

been good in other systems of religion, in morality, or in philosophy, had been derived from Christianity, or was Christianity latent and in disguise ; either a degradation of a primitive revelation, or a forecast of Christianity not yet fully revealed or perfected. And this conception of Christianity as really universal, belonging to all peoples, to the conscience of humanity, made it democratic, popular, in the widest and most absolute signification. And the cause of its comparative failure in modern society lay in the violation of this, its central idea ; in the subserviency of Christianity to the State or ruling powers, to kings, parliaments, and material hierarchies. He clung to the Romanist ideal of the Church, a world-wide body (he said a democratic body) under one supreme infallible head. All lesser tyrannies were to be done away with. The Pope was to make his appeal to the people, to place himself at their head, and be the sole worthy ruler of the world : "Everything by the Pope, and for the people." Half of this was accepted, half rejected by the Papacy ; the time was not yet ripe. But the rejection of one-half of the formula was fatal to Lamennais. In his inexorable logic the two parts were inseparably bound up together and co-existent. Neither could exist without the other : they could not act apart. The Christ Himself had come, and died *for the people* ; that was the reason of His mission ; and the Pope was Christ's Vicar upon earth, for humanity could not be left without a guide. Such views were condemned by Gregory XVI. ; and Lacordaire, Montalembert, Rohrbacher,

Berryer, and all Lamennais' own disciples submitted to the papal sentence. But Lamennais could not submit. In his view the Pope had denied his true office; he had made the great refusal. Lamennais turned his back on him for ever, and looked to the people alone for the support of true Christianity. Instead of "Everything by the Pope, and for the people," his watchword henceforth was "Everything by the people and for the people."

Let us examine this a little more closely. The doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope has become so much the essence of modern Romanism, that men now regard it as the keystone of the Church's organization;—as if the purport of the existence of the Church was this, to give men an infallible earthly guide to heaven. They forget how recent the acceptance of the dogma is in Church History. It was only in the Vatican Council of 1870 that it was decreed as obligatory on all members of the Church of Rome: it would be hard now to find a single priest in the French Church who does not at least ostensibly accept it; while very few suspect its unhistorical character. Yet we have only to look to the literature of the Restoration (1815–1830), and to the *Correspondance* of Lamennais, to see how very different was the teaching of the bishops, of the superior clergy, and of the seminaries in France in those days. The two men who were the chief promoters of Ultramontanism in the Church of France in the early years of the century were Count Joseph de Maistre and Félicité de Lamennais. Their ideas spread rapidly among



the lower ranks of the clergy, especially among the younger men ; but the bishops of the Restoration were wholly opposed to them. These still clung to the old ideal and to the privileges of the Gallican Church ; they maintained the Primacy only of the See of Rome, and that all decrees made by the popes alone were reformable by a General Council, and by the voice of the Church.<sup>1</sup> The earliest work of F. de Lamennais, in conjunction with his brother Jean, published in 1814, is described by his latest biographer as "a first step towards Roman ideas, a return to what is conventionally called ultramontaniam."<sup>2</sup> In 1825 began his great campaign, in the Press, against Gallicanism, the violence of his language against the episcopate of his day having only been equalled by that of Louis Veuillot against Mgr. Dupanloup and others before the Vatican Council. "Without the Pope," he exclaims, "there is no Church ; without the Church, no Christianity ; without Christianity, no Society. Therefore the Pope is above all."<sup>3</sup> Any denial of these doctrines, or hesitation to accept them, he denounced as a step towards atheism, as a subversion of all religion

<sup>1</sup> "The promise to teach the four articles of the Declaration of 1682 was required of Professors of Theology by the Minister of the Interior in 1818." "The Episcopate was Gallican. It was so as the result of the teaching of the old theological schools, of personal and national prejudice, of interest, and partly from true perception of the difficulties of the opposite doctrine." L. Bourgain, *L'Église de France et l'État au Dix-neuvième Siècle* (1802-1900), tome i. p. 272 note and p. 273. 2 vols. (Douniol, Paris, 1901.)

<sup>2</sup> *Lamennais d'après sa Correspondance et les Travaux le plus Récents*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 124.

and of all society. The bishops, April 12, 1826, signed a protest against such teaching, and Lamennais was brought before the tribunal on a charge of outrage against the king, Charles X., and of attacking the laws of the State. On the latter count he was condemned to the least punishment, a fine of thirty francs. Such a defeat was a victory. It was the last day of Gallicanism. "The blow had gone home : Gallicanism had been so violently overthrown that it has never since been able to raise itself up again."<sup>1</sup> Lamennais believed, or affected to believe, that the bishops were working for the establishment of a national Church,<sup>2</sup> in which the Church would be subservient to the State, the bishops to the king, and the priests to the bishops.<sup>3</sup> The prospect roused his utmost indignation. "When the priest is a slave," he exclaims, "the layman loses his liberty."<sup>4</sup> The spreading ultramontaniam was opposed by the bishops in every way. The doctrine was forbidden to be preached, and those who proclaimed it were silenced.<sup>5</sup> Gallicanism was supreme at St. Sulpice, the greatest of the clerical seminaries ;<sup>6</sup> and Lamennais asserts that the Bishops of Belgium, Ireland, England (of course, only Roman Catholic bishops are meant), and of Poland were promulgating the same doctrines.<sup>7</sup> Yet in a few years what a reversal! Lamennais

<sup>1</sup> *Lamennais d'après sa Correspondance et les Travaux les plus Récents*, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondance*, vol. i. p. 208, Oct. 12, 1825.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 292, Jan. 1, 1827.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 218, 224-226, 244.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 257, 258, 286.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 257.

was ever demanding of Rome a declaration of the Infallibility of the Pope. In 1870 this was made ; but even before that, in the reign of Louis Philippe, and before 1848, a popular writer could declare that Gallicanism was practically extinct in the Church of France, so swift and so thorough was the change. Even the eloquent writings of men like Mgr. Dupanloup and of A. Gratry, the Oratorian, found no echo.

The object of the early part of the life of Lamennais had thus been thoroughly gained, though the completeness of the victory was not apparent until some years after his death. The dependence of Gallicanism upon the monarchy and the State had been fatal to it ; it fell, vanquished before this new alliance between ultramontanism and democracy. The Vatican Council of 1870 decreed the dogma of Papal Infallibility, and the whole Roman Church had become ultramontane. What has been the lot of the second part of the early programme of Lamennais : "Tout par le Pape, et pour le peuple" ? In 1832 Gregory XVI. rejected the second clause ; in 1870 Pius IX. fulfilled the first. But Leo XIII. is now taking up the second part. The doctrines of his great Encyclicals, "*De conditione Opificum*," and that to Princes and Peoples, cannot be better summed up than in these words : "Everything by the Pope, and for the people" ;—by the Pope who says : "*Cum Dei omnipotentis vices in terris geramus*," and by the action of the Pope, including that of the whole Church, and of his servants, the bishops. It is they who are to be the guides, the

moderators, the arbiters in all questions and quarrels that arise between Capital and Labour; they are to be the heads and patrons of guilds and institutions for the benefit of the working classes.<sup>1</sup> This is really the doctrine which was set forth so vehemently by Lamennais. This is almost his ideal of the action of the Church upon Society. This it is which the Papacy rejected in 1832; and the rejection of this ideal of the Roman Church was the occasion of the fall of its too enthusiastic author. And yet Lamennais' work survives still.

Let us now examine the theories of Maurice on the same subject. Far less eloquently expressed, with much less of formal logic, his ideas are deeper, more consistent, more truly reasonable than those so vehemently put forth by Lamennais. The sympathy of the Englishman for the people is a truer feeling than the passionate, poetic, almost hysterical emotion of the Frenchman. It is a steadily increasing glow. Misrepresentation and opposition did not dishearten him as they did

<sup>1</sup> For a later utterance of Leo XIII. see the Encyclical of January 18, 1901. *Graves de communi re*, on Christian Democracy, and his defence of the term. "Maneat igitur, studium istud catholicorum solandæ erigendæque plebis plane congruere cum Ecclesiæ ingenio et perpetuis ejusdem exemplis optime respondere. Ea vero quæ ad id conducant, utrum *actione christianæ popularis* nomine appellentur, an *democratia christiana*, parvi admodum refert; si quidem impertita a Nobis documenta, quo par est obsequio, integra custodiantur." . . .

"Postremo id rursus graviusque commonemus, ut quidquid consilii in eadem causa vel singuli vel consociati homines efficiendum suscipiant, meminerint Episcoporum auctoritati esse penitus obsequendum."

Lamennais, nor make him turn aside from his path. Thus his career ended, not in disappointment, but in the calm certitude of the triumph of what he taught, in so far as what he taught was true. To put the central ideas of the two systems concisely and in contrast, we may say, omitting details and qualifications, that the base of Lamennais' system was the Infallibility and the Fatherhood of the Pope, and the free and loving subjection of all men equally to him, because he cared equally for all. The foundation of Maurice's system is the Fatherhood of God, and the equal Brotherhood of all men in Christ, the only true head of all human society, not of the Church only, but of the Nation, of Humanity. To take an illustration from political theories: The system of Lamennais has a close analogy with what has been called the Napoleonic idea: a universal empire founded on free universal suffrage; Maurice's idea is that of a universal Brotherhood, independent of political forms, subsisting by its equal relationship to the one Father of all, submitting to no other laws but those which flow from our equal obligations to the Father, and to His Son, in whom we are all brethren.

It is characteristic of Maurice that his deepest and most practical thoughts on social questions are not always found where we should expect them, viz. in his more formal treatises on such subjects. The really illuminating passages shine out elsewhere. Thus there are paragraphs in the volume entitled *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*, and in the beautiful *Sermons on the Lord's Prayer*, which throw more light upon the bearing of Christian Ethics on

social subjects, which give us more hope of what Christian Socialism may one day be, than anything which we find in the volume expressly headed *Social Morality*. Take, for instance, this passage, in the Sermon "Give us this day our daily bread":—

"Property is holy, distinction of ranks is holy : so speaks the *Law*, and the *Church* does not deny the assertion, but ratifies it. Only she must proclaim this other truth or perish. Beneath all distinctions of property and rank lie the obligations of a common Creation, Redemption, Humanity ; and these are not mere ultimate obligations to be confessed when the others are fulfilled. They are not vague abstractions, which cannot quite be denied, but which have no direct bearing upon our actual daily existence ; they are primary, eternal bonds, upon which all others depend ; they are not satisfied by some nominal occasional act of homage ; they demand the fealty and service of a life ; all our doings must be witnesses of them. The Church proclaims tacitly by her existence—she should have proclaimed openly by her voice—that property and rank are held upon this tenure ; that they can stand by no others. Alas ! she has not spoken out this truth clearly and strongly here or anywhere. She has fancied that it was her first work to protect those who could have protected themselves well enough without her, provided she had been true to her vocation of caring for those whom the world did not care for, of watching over them continually, of fitting them to be citizens of any society upon earth, by showing them what is implied in the heavenly filial citizenship into which God has freely adopted them."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Prayer-Book and the Lord's Prayer*, pp. 340-1.

In the neglect of this duty lies, for Maurice, the comparative feebleness of the influence of the Church and of religion on modern society. Take again this passage, from *The Doctrine of Sacrifice* :—

“No man has attained the true elevation of humanity till he feels that he is not above any human creature ; no one can be really an individual till he has confessed that he is only one of a kind. But with this two-edged paradox, another still harder to take in was involved. If there could be one who never did lift up himself above his brethren, who never claimed to be anything but the member of a kind, must he not be the perfectly righteous man, and yet must he not be in sympathy and fellowship with all sinful men as no other ever was ? Must he not have a feeling and experience of their sins which they have not themselves ? Is it not involved in the very idea of such a being that he sacrifices himself ? ”<sup>1</sup>

There seems to be a mingling of Plato with the Gospels here ; but, admitting this, is it not somewhere on such lines that a deeper conception of Christianity may proceed, which may help us to solve some of the most difficult problems of social life ?

One great merit in Maurice is the way in which he treats the ideas and arguments of his opponents. He always tries to understand them, to discover the best that may be in them, to see on which side they are in touch with truth, or may approach it the most nearly, however far in their subsequent deductions they may have wandered from it. Lamennais never does this ; he simply caricatures the doctrine of his adversaries, seeing only through the clouded glass of his own excited imagination.

<sup>1</sup> *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*, p. 101.

No one was ever more opposed to asceticism, or to monasticism, than was Maurice. Yet he sees that from the monasteries "proceeded many of the brotherhoods which were so beneficial in the infancy, which may perhaps under new conditions be more beneficial in the maturity, of trade ; which contributed to the organization of towns."<sup>1</sup> The idea of reviving these brotherhoods or guilds under new conditions, in hopes that they may be more beneficial now than they were formerly, seems to be the main feature in the attempts of M. Harmel and the Comte de Mun to work out the social problem in France.<sup>2</sup>

With respect to another system which claims to possess a principle which is to be the saving of modern society, Positivism, and the worship of Humanity, Maurice sees that in its practical issue it is not liberty, but an empire. "One cannot but perceive an Empire looming through all their speculations, however much it may at present be kept out of their own sight as well as ours."<sup>3</sup> We saw above that Lamennais' system tended to a like end, so that this observation of Maurice is but a corroboration of what has been so often remarked, that Positivism is really nothing but Romanism without its Christianity.

These contrasted systems of Lamennais and of Maurice are the chief religious theories put forth on which to base the Christian society of the future. The one, upheld now by a power which claims the obedience of two hundred and fifty

<sup>1</sup> *Social Morality*, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> For the approval of M. Harmel see the Allocution of Leo XII. to the French Working-Man's Pilgrimage, October 8, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *Social Morality*, p. 369.



millions of the most civilized of the human race, says practically : " Everything through the Pope, and for the people "—the Pope who "*Dei omnipotentis vices in terris gerit.*" The other tries to build on a fuller acknowledgment, and a deeper feeling of the equal Sonship of all men to the Fatherhood of God, and of the equal universal Brotherhood of man which necessarily follows from that, and is intensified in Christ's Incarnation. But there is a danger in the practical application to details of both these systems. Both build more or less on the clergy; both call on the Church to do more than its part in this great question, and seem to expect the solution to come wholly from her. Can this be realized? If the Church, as it is in Maurice's idea, and as perhaps it may one day be, were co-extensive with humanity and with society, it might be; but actually and practically it is far different. The Church, or the Pope, as the voice of one great section of the Catholic Church, may well proclaim those great principles of love and charity, of unselfishness and sacrifice, which may greatly minimize the friction, and, by so doing, help immensely the beneficial working of the coming change. But if the Church, or clergy, interfere with the details of political or economic, of commercial or of industrial life, or with changes in the laws or tenures of property, without special knowledge and careful study, with only *a priori* deductions from the above-named principles, such interference may be fraught with danger. Maurice, who has set forth these principles as well as any teacher has ever done, has also left us a warning example of the danger of building on

the theories of the last author, or so-called authority on the subject, and of accepting his conclusions. He shows us, by his mistakes, how very difficult it is to regard present events in their true perspective. In his day Sir H. S. Maine and others had begun those researches into early institutions and tenures of property which have been so fruitful since. At that time, the patriarchal stage was thought to be the natural, the most universal, the earliest condition of human society. Now we know that this is one only of many uses, and by no means the earliest of the many forms of early Society. Every student of the history of property knows that its forms, its modes of tenure, its conditions, have been ever-changing, that they are almost infinitely varied; that the present conditions of holding property or wealth are, in certain of their forms, new and unexampled in the world. The complete divorce between the possession of wealth and any apparent obligation to perform the duties and responsibilities connected with the use of wealth is a new thing. Wealth and property have become not only more individual, but more irresponsible, and at the same time tend to accumulate in the hands of fewer individuals. To say that individual property in this sense is a law of nature is wholly false; and the working man and the students of history have a right to protest against such an assertion.<sup>1</sup> The tenures, the modes and conditions

<sup>1</sup> "Quia possidere res privatim ut suas jus est homini a natura datum." Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, Mai 16, 1891. Lamennais indeed says: "Pour que la liberté soit individuelle, et la liberté est individuelle, ou elle n'est pas, il faut

of the possession of wealth, the limitations to the arbitrary use of it by individuals, have been, and are, continually changing. We cannot put back the clock of history, we cannot go back to the stages of communal, of collective, of tribal, of family or of feudal tenures, but it is in studying these, in observing the laws and conditions of their evolution, that we may hope to discover what modes of tenure or of the distribution of wealth have been most beneficial to mankind in the past ; and hence we may perhaps be enabled to foresee the general principles, at least, of what may be most beneficial in the future. For those who know nothing of such things, who have never studied them, to speak with false authority, to declare themselves fitting dictators, by reason of their office in the Church, is only to do mischief. It is herein that the value of Maurice's writings consists. He lays down the great Christian principles ; he sees their elasticity, their far-reaching applicability to every form of society ; that there is no portion of society exempt from them ; that "all our doings must be witnesses of them." But he leaves to successive ages, to coming generations and classes of men, to apply them, each in his several sphere, for the benefit of the individual and of the race, amid the ever-changing conditions of social and individual life. Lamennais, on the contrary, worked out his theory to a logical application to the daily details of life ;

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donc que la propriété, *selon son essence*, soit individuelle aussi." But then he goes on to expose the practical objections to this doctrine. *Du Passé et de l'Avenir du Peuple*, cap. xv., and see note at the end of this chapter.

and it failed him on the first contact with reality—though for a time only. But, alas! he shared the immediate failure; his life and conscience were wrecked with it. Still his two chief principles are working:—the one, which led to the proclamation of the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope; the other, which would base not only ecclesiastical, but social and economic science on the Pope. “*Tout par le Pape, et pour le peuple*” seems now being attempted to be carried out—with what results the future only will unfold. In considering this fact of our day, we must remember the proverb: “The best is sometimes the enemy of the good.” It is a good thing that the Head of the largest body of Christians should have declared himself on the side of the people, that his sympathies should be with the working-man, with the great majority of mankind, not with the upper classes only or chiefly. Yet when we compare this with Maurice’s deeper principles, we cannot but see the difference. It is possible that the power of the Papacy in its present form may be only a passing phase in the history of one section of the Church; and the Papacy does not cover the whole of even contemporary Christianity. Maurice’s principles, on the other hand, are of universal application. They are, as he says, “primary and eternal bonds,” which will have binding force as long as mankind endures on earth. The duties arising from the Fatherhood of God are co-extensive with humanity; the obligations resulting from the Sonship of Christ, and our equal Brotherhood in Him, may indeed be neglected, like other duties unfulfilled, but they are, and ever

will be, binding on all His Brethren, or Christianity is but a name.

#### NOTE.

The annual N. and C. Europe Anglican Church Conference was held at Vienna in 1896. One of the subjects for discussion was *Christian Socialism: the attitude of the Church towards Social Questions*. Bishop T. E. Wilkinson in his opening address spoke at length on this subject.<sup>1</sup> Deeply moved on reading these eloquent words I wrote the following letter, which the Bishop had printed in the *Anglican Church Magazine*.<sup>2</sup> It may serve as a note to the foregoing chapter:—

‘MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

‘I trust that your Lordship will excuse my obtruding upon your valuable time, and will acquit me of presumption and vanity in sending you the following. I write under great disadvantage from great weakness following on a sharp attack of illness, but your beautiful address at the Vienna Conference has deeply stirred me ; I thank you most heartily for it, and I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of it.

‘The part on which I venture to offer a few notes, gathered from my own experience and reading, is the portion on Socialism. You ask, “Where does the fault lie?” Until we can solve that preliminary question we can go no further.”

‘Is there any fault at all, except neglect of the fact that the forms of tenure of property and of wealth have been and are ever changing? They are apparently never alike for more than two or three centuries together, and even during these periods of quietude the changes are slowly working. Ahrens, the German, says : “A change in the form of government is no more than a political revolution ; a transformation in civil

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<sup>1</sup> *Anglican Church Magazine*, vol. xx. pp. 204–210. April to September 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 336.

laws [*i.e.* in the conditions of holding wealth or property] is a social revolution." This axiom is adopted, I think, by most writers on the history of Property. Yet these transformations are always taking place. If we ask what is the special change in the conditions of holding wealth during the present century, I think we shall find it to be this—in its moral aspect at least: The conditions of holding wealth are now divorced from any apparent responsibility to perform the duties connected with wealth, in a way which has never happened before. Men may have, and actually have, vast wealth invested as shareholders in every form of industrial, commercial, mining, and manufacturing enterprise. They are really co-partners in the employment of labour to an extent beyond what was previously possible. And yet they never feel—for the most part they are utterly ignorant of—any kind of responsibility, any duty whatever, to the labourers whom their wealth, as shareholders, employs. The greatest oppression, the most hideous wrong may be done, and they never know it, but still remain in complacent ignorance. An instance or two will show best what I mean. I have the facts from the actors themselves. A young fellow in the service of one of the great Colonial banks showed talent, pluck, and the absolute trustworthiness of a Christian gentleman; consequently he was employed to open up new districts and found fresh branches for the bank. Some of these succeeded; some did not. The *modus operandi* was generally as follows: On going to a new district, the bank advanced money on as favourable terms as possible. Men were led to borrow. If all went well, there was no harm done, but if the returns from the district were below the expectation of the directors, the agent received directions to close the bank, call in all mortgages, and enforce repayment. He wrote to the chief official in the colony saying how unfair this was, as it brought ruin on the farmers through no fault of their own. The answer from the colonial official was that he only obeyed orders from home. The agent then wrote to the directors at home. They replied that their first duty was to the shareholders; if a district did not pay, it must be abandoned. This occurred repeatedly, till at last the agent refused to be a party to such operations any longer, and resigned a lucrative post. In another case, where something was suspected wrong in a large mining operation, a distinguished expert was sent out to report. He soon found that the mischief lay with the higher *employés*, men receiving large salaries. So long as the affair merely lessened the shareholders' dividends he contented himself with laying the facts before the directors,

and suggesting the remedies ; but the *employés*, emboldened by impunity, went on to establish a scheme which robbed the workmen as well as the shareholders. Against this the expert protested, and threatened to resign if the wrong were not redressed. His reports were disregarded. He went home to the directors, and saw the chief, a man well known in the religious world of London. He asked that at least his reports should be printed for the information of the shareholders. This was refused. He resigned. He consulted his lawyers as to publishing them himself. They told him it was too dangerous. I had an opportunity of seeing one of the richest newspaper proprietors in London, told him the case, said that all could be substantiated, and asked him to print the last report. After thinking a few minutes, he replied : " I can do a good deal ; I think I can do as much as any man in London ; but I cannot fight a company with  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of capital." So the thing went on. The shareholders, whose money wrought the wrong, knew nothing of it. In a third case, an attempted "corner" in metal, the success involved the purchase and closing of the smaller mines, for the benefit of the greater, all over the world. One of these establishments was in the northern part of the United States. The closure took place at the end of autumn. There was no settlement near ; provisions, etc., being supplied only to and through the mining establishment. The workmen did not at first take in what was happening. The officials left, and in a few weeks the provisions were exhausted. In the deep snow and cold, men, women, and children had to find their way to the nearest settlements to beg for food and work to save their lives. I do not suppose that one in a hundred of the shareholders ever heard of this, or that they who heard, thought of their responsibility. It was the interest of all to keep the purchase and closure of these lesser establishments secret.

'Now these things are being done in many varied shapes and forms. The injured workman asks : Who is responsible? The immediate officials or agents say that they only obey the orders of the directors ; the directors say they are responsible to the shareholders, and are bound to look after their interest. None considers his duty to the workman as a personal responsibility. But are the workmen wrong, nay, are they not right, in protesting, in combining, in seeking by all legal means, a remedy against such things?

'I said above that the modes of tenure of property, and the conditions of the possession of wealth are always changing. Men talk as if the undivided individual possession of

wealth were a law of nature. In Spain and in the Pyrénées we have survivals and examples (a chronological section, as it were) of many forms of property, of communal, of collective, of the House-community, of the "vicinal," of feudal, and many mixed forms. It is quite recently that property has been individual in its modern sense. I have a description before me of one such survival of communal property at Llanabés, in Léon, an account written by the priest, J. A. Possé, who was Curé there from 1793-96. The whole of the land was divided decennially among the inhabitants, and the Curé was delighted with his parishioners and their institutions. The hay was divided among the inhabitants, so was the wheat, and salt, with great exactitude ; the doctor, the shepherds, the smith, the chemist, all Church expenses, were paid by the community. There was a communal prison, but the Curé never saw any one in it. The ploughed lands, thus distributed in common by lot, seemed to him to be rather better cultivated than those of the neighbouring proprietors. His testimony to the moral effect is most favourable. Like systems prevailed till lately in some other parts of Spain. In Upper Aragon and in the Pyrénées we have the House-community, only just dying out, where the property does not belong to any individual, but to the House (often three generations) collectively. Then there is the "Vicinal" system, where every holder of property has definite reciprocal duties to his neighbour incumbent on the possession of that property. The modifications of these systems are multitudinous. In Sare, whence I write, the greater part of the land property, and the mills and industrial establishments were communal until the Revolution. The taxes were paid collectively, in a lump sum, by the commune, not by individuals.

'The changes of the modes of holding wealth and property usually go on unperceived ; but there are times of sharper transition, when the conditions are changed more rapidly. I believe that we are passing through some such time now, and these are times of difficulty and danger. Such were the periods of transition from slave to serf labour, from serf to free hired labour, from villenage to tenant farming, marked by the wars of the Jacquerie, etc. ; such the change of Church property at the Reformation, from feudal tenure to the civil code at the Revolution. What is the duty of the Church and clergy at such periods ? Is it not to aid in attenuating the difficulties, to prevent, if possible, the repetition of the old servile insurrections, of the social injustice of the Reformation period, of the horrors of the French Revolution ? This is not to be done by rashly, ignorantly branding as wrong,



immoral, or unchristian forms of holding property, conditions of wealth, which were once well-nigh universal, under which people lived quite as quiet, peaceable, and godly lives as they do now ; not by shutting one's eyes to the fact that under the present system the working classes are liable to grievous wrong ; not by denying them the right to protest against such wrong, and to try and remove it by all lawful means ; not by blaming them for studying the history of property in the past ; but by helping them in every way to right study of the forms, showing them that we cannot put back the hand of time, the clock of history, but, as fellow-students with them, trying how far the history of the past may enable us better to adjust the holding of wealth and property to the changed conditions of the present.

'Then I think it ought to be impressed on all shareholders and fund or bondholders of wealth and property of every kind, that responsibility is not lessened or destroyed because it is not apparent ; that the wrong is not diminished by the careless, complacent ignorance of the doer of it. Shareholders in business, in "corners," in breweries, in any undertaking in which workmen are employed, or can be oppressed, or wronged, are as fully responsible before God as a landowner or employer. They are bound to inquire into the workers' condition if they benefit by the fruits of their labour.

'I do not believe that the present accumulation of irresponsible wealth can continue. It will be changed in some way, I cannot foresee how or when ; perhaps by limitation of the amount of wealth which a man may bequeath by will, by heavy succession duties, by forced equal division in the family, as by the Code Napoléon, or by some means we know not. These silent revolutions are in a great measure beyond the reach of statesmen, or the conscious control of any one. But we may trust God for the future, as well as in the past. Former transitions of this kind always brought some, if not unmixed, good with them. We may pray for help to act aright, not to be misled, not to call good evil, or evil good ; not to sit down satisfied and contented because the present forms of holding wealth are so agreeable to the moneyed classes, who have no apparent responsibility or duty attached to it, except to spend, and that if the workmen in any undertaking in which we have a moneyed part are wronged, we shall not be troubled with the knowledge of it. Should not the clergy teach these lessons, not only by precept but by example ? We can possess our wealth only under the conditions of the age in which we live. There is nothing wrong in shareholding, co-operation, limited liability ;

only let us not shut our eyes to the duties and responsibilities attached thereto because these are not patent ; let us see that we act justly and rightly under all conditions. These means of holding individual irresponsible wealth are really new in the world ; they follow no law of nature. In all previous forms of possessing wealth, in collective or communal forms, in the House-community, in the " Vicinal " system, in feudality, in landownership, in direct employment of labour, there were direct, palpable duties and responsibilities, which if a man neglected, he fell under the ban of the community, of public opinion, of his own conscience. This is not the case with modern forms ; and the working-man cannot be wrong in seeking legally and fairly to defend and secure himself and his class against such irresponsibility.'

## XII

THE REV. PÈRE E. J. M. M. D'ALZON, FOUNDER OF  
THE AUGUSTINS OF THE ASSUMPTION. 1810-  
1880

IT is difficult for those who have not read something of the history and literature of the Church in France during the Restoration, from 1815 to 1830, and somewhat later, to form an idea of the violence with which the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope was at first assailed by the zealous defenders of the principles of the old Gallican Church. One must have conversed with some of the old priests, educated in these principles, to be able to understand the severity and the horror with which they spoke of the supposed action of the Jesuits of that time and of the early years of Louis Philippe's reign. The needle has now so completely veered round to the opposite point of the compass that we can hardly imagine that it ever pointed otherwise.

A few facts from the life of the Rev. Père d'Alzon, Founder of the Augustins of the Assumption, may help us to understand this a little. For it was under the Restoration, and chiefly through the teaching of Comte Joseph de Maistre and of Lamennais, that the reaction began. Partly under

the influence of Lamennais, Père d'Alzon, though educated in Gallican principles, was one of the first to act on this new teaching.

According to the views which he had adopted, many a lesson of heresy was then taught in the sanctuaries of France. He determined to break wholly away from such teaching, to pursue his studies at Rome itself, and to receive ordination there. This would be nothing very remarkable now-a-days ; but then it was quite unprecedented. Only one French priest, the celebrated Mabillon, had attended the last Papal Jubilee, and he had gone to Rome not expressly for that purpose, but for study. The French bishops had long since ceased to cross the Alps on a visit to Rome. The Abbé d'Alzon went with one companion. On his return, after having been ordained sub-deacon the 14th, deacon the 21st, priest, December 26th, 1834, all within three weeks, his bishop, one of the Confessors of the Revolution, affected to doubt the authenticity of these orders, and exclaimed : "The Pope would be better employed in teaching the catechism to the little *gamins* on the banks of the Tiber!" But the Père d'Alzon had embraced, as the aim of his life, the leading France back to Rome, and the making Rome and the Pope the basis of French society : "*Pierre, c'est le Christ.*" The attempt seemed like madness : it was so alien to all the ideas of France of that day. "The man is crazy!" was the almost universal cry. But, nothing daunted, he pursued his aim in all possible ways, in every conceivable form. Again and again he tried to found a college for training

French clergy in Rome;—a college which, after several partial failures, has been established by Leo XIII. in 1893, thirteen years after the death of the first promoter. He with Dom Guéranger zealously advocated the introduction of the Roman Rite, superseding all the Provincial Rites of France; using, in his own establishments, the same Office as the Pope. Whatever religious question stirred the mind of France, he was sure to make his voice heard thereon, and his action felt, treating every subject from the extreme ultramontane point of view. He fought by the side of Lamennais and of Montalembert for free religious education, and was the last priest in ecclesiastical dress who visited Lamennais. One of the greatest and most constant efforts of his life was a crusade against the University of France and its teaching; and one of his great successes was the founding of the College of the Assumption at Nismes, before the monopoly of the University had been legally abrogated. He quickly saw the growing power of the press in the formation of public opinion, and started several reviews and journals, one of which became afterwards *L'Univers*, the most powerful organ which the extreme clerical party in France ever possessed. He was the fast friend of Louis Veuillot, who became its editor after 1842, and who attacked with caustic invective every sign of liberalism among the bishops or clergy of France. It was not the journalism alone, but the whole of the licentious and free-thinking literature of France that he assailed. In face of *la mauvaise presse*—bad literature—he would set up *la bonne presse*,

good literature. Of the three newspapers which the present *Société de la Bonne Presse* publishes, *La Croix* (Sept. 1, 1895) claims to have a circulation of 500,000 daily, and is still increasing; *La Vie des Saints*, a weekly publication, has 250,000; while the circulation of the *Pèlerin*, *Les Questions Actuelles*, *Les Contemporains*, *Les Echos d'Orient*, and other periodicals, must be very great.

But the exertions of Père d'Alzon were by no means confined to literature. When the news came of the invasion of the Papal States by Garibaldi, in 1867, he at once formed a company of Papal Zouaves, from volunteers of his college at Nismes. Within a week, 65 were enrolled; the number being subsequently raised to 170.<sup>1</sup> Soon afterwards we find him foremost amongst those who urged Pius IX. to convoke the Vatican Council, and to declare the dogma of the Infallibility; while his disciples were chosen by Pius IX. as missionaries in the work of uniting the Bulgarian Church to Rome, and in the first mission to Constantinople for the union of the Eastern Churches with Rome, which is one of the chief fields of action of the Assumptionist Fathers.

Perhaps, however, the greatest and most unexpected of all his triumphs has been the revival of pilgrimages in France. These had almost ceased, except among the peasantry of certain provinces;

<sup>1</sup> The white heat of enthusiasm—shall we say fanaticism?—with which these recruits fought may be estimated by the fact that they sent home the brains of one of their number who fell at Mentana, and the skull of another, killed on the walls of Rome, to be buried in the founder's tomb, at the foot of the altar.

and even there it was sometimes hard to say whether the pilgrimage was really made, and the devotion offered to the Christian saint, or to some vague, traditional memory of an older superstition or faith. Mlle. Eugénie de Guérin, a thoroughly pious woman, brought up in clerical and religious circles, whose brother was a pupil of Lamennais, wrote, even in 1837, of pilgrimages, as "remnants of an antique faith; the time for them is now past; the spirit of them is dead in the hearts of the multitude"; and this was the general opinion. These pilgrimages the Père d'Alzon set himself to restore, recognizing the advantage of the new modes of locomotion for this end. His attention was directed first of all to the pilgrimages to Rome, especially the official episcopal visits, and the visits at the Jubilees. Both these had fallen into disuse; both have been successfully revived. Every French bishop now pays the customary visit to the Pope within three years after his consecration; many repeat it triennially. There is scarcely any new religious work, of charity, of devotion, associations, societies, sisterhoods or confraternities, that does not make a pilgrimage to Rome to receive the papal blessing. Since 1882, annual pilgrimages have been made to Jerusalem, and they are now repeated twice or thrice a year. These are almost wholly the work of the Assumptionist Fathers, originated by the Père d'Alzon, and are carried on by their own steam vessels. Yet all this is as nothing compared with what has been accomplished in France itself. Lourdes has become a rendez-vous for almost the whole Catholic world; and the

pilgrimage to Lourdes is only one of many. —An almanack published by the Society of St. Augustin gives the number of places of pilgrimages to the Virgin alone at 1,253; and the number of pilgrims as amounting to 28 millions. This would be the entire available population of the country, were it not that certain pilgrims renew their visits ten or twelve times a year, and is of course an exaggeration. Still, if we take into account the number of sanctuaries other than those of the Virgin, such as the Churches of the Sacré Cœur at Montmartre, and at Paray-le-Monial, the Pardons of Brittany, the many popular shrines of the Magdalen, of St. Michael the Archangel, and other saints locally revered, the numbers, while excessive, denote a change almost too great to have taken place within the life of one man. Yet the change has been wrought, and the movement is still on the increase.

We can understand and sympathize to a great extent with the campaign carried on by Père d'Alzon and others, against the merely secular teaching of the University of France, against the irreligious press, and the non-religious lay schools of France. But it is somewhat startling, especially when we remember that it was before the days of laicalization and expulsion of the Sisters, to find him denouncing the hospitals in unmeasured terms. "Down with the hospitals!" he cries. As a counter-system he founded *Les Petites Sœurs de l'Assomption*, to nurse the poor at their own homes. This Sisterhood has had great success, and is a most useful and meritorious institution. By the influence



which the Sisters gained in the families of the working classes, they helped the Père to establish fraternities of workmen, bound only by these four excellent rules :—

1. Family evening prayer :
2. To bring home the whole earnings :
3. Not to go to public-houses except for a meal :
4. Not to read immoral newspapers.

Excellent indeed are such associations ; but we find their inception marred by constantly recurring notes of exaggeration and prejudice. Read, for example, this passage upon the hospitals :—

“Wherever this work [of the Sisters] shines, the lurid star of the hospital pales ;—that hospital without God ! that atheist of materialism and of hopeless suffering ! that cruel and horrible prison, which, under pretence of benevolence, tears the dying child from its mother to hand it over to mercenaries in its last convulsions ! the hospital which deprives children of the last benediction of a father, and which sends the remains to the shambles of the dissecting-room ! the hospital where cruelty is so well allied with impurity ! the hospital, in fine, that vestibule of hell to so many souls, who were waiting only a word of salvation, now refused them ! Yes ; the hospital must disappear, and the Christian family must revive. This is a social work (*une œuvre sociale*) that the very excesses of philanthropists will bring about.”<sup>1</sup>

It is a great pity that such expressions of unchristian violence and bitterness mar so much of

<sup>1</sup> *Les Questions Actuelles*, tome xxi. p. 37. 1893.

the religious writing in France, and especially of the publications of *La Bonne Presse*. *La Croix* and *La Croix du Dimanche* are headed by a striking woodcut of the crucifixion; but, as a French bishop said lately: "Too often the spirit of the contents is in direct variance with the spirit of the engraving at the head of the page." The caricatures inserted in *La Croix du Dimanche* are often most painful expressions of the virulence of party spirit. We have sometimes placed this paper side by side with the *War Cry* of the Salvation Army; and notwithstanding all our sympathy with the work of the former, and in spite of the vulgar coarseness and offences against the good taste of the latter, it is impossible to deny that the spirit of the *War Cry*, with its single aim (however mistaken in its means) of saving souls from sin, vice, and misery, is the more Christian of the two.

So it is, to a certain extent, with many other publications of *La Bonne Presse*, marvels of cheapness, and valuable in many ways as some of their books are. An ultramontane or Petrine flavour is given to everything; inconvenient facts are quietly omitted, or slurred over; where this cannot be done some of the comments and discussions on the text are veritable *tours de force* of sophistical reasoning;—as, for instance, when it is argued that Bossuet never was a Gallican, or really approved the principles of Gallicanism!

The Père d'Alzon was an only son of good family, of considerable wealth. Tall, with handsome features, a distinguished bearing, a fine voice, he had every physical advantage. His natural

destiny seemed to be to marry, and to continue the life of his ancestors; but on a November night, in 1831, after a sharp discussion with his father, he secretly left the Château de Lavagnac to enter the clerical seminary of Montpellier. His talents, his eloquence, his superabundant energy, soon made him remarkable. Men of his stamp, who enter the ranks of the secular clergy, are so rare in France that they are almost immediately marked out for future bishops and archbishops. Several of the Père's early friends were thus distinguished, and only his reluctance kept him back from such honours. He saw that he could be more useful in a sphere less trammelled by official duties, and by official reticence; though he yielded so far as to become Vicaire-général of the Diocese of Nîmes. Where he submitted, he submitted wholly, and without reserve; he gave up everything, title, position, family wealth; but the submission must be of his own will. Haughty and independent towards the civil power, he was a most devoted courtier of Pius IX., and most so when the papal fortunes were lowest. A great portion of his wealth was given to the Holy See, the rest to his Foundations, and to the poor. He might have been a cardinal; he preferred to remain a friend of the Pope. "There is d'Alzon," cried Pius IX., at the sight of him. "He is our friend." But the spiritual triumph of the Papacy was what he had ever most at heart. No one has contributed more to make this cause popular in France. Every question connected with the privileges of the Holy See found in him a

passionate advocate. He spoke, and wrote, and contended, at one time against the late remnants of "Gallican error," and against the delusions of liberalism, at another time for the Roman Liturgy, and for the definition of Infallibility, with a zeal which opposition only increased. He was always in the front of the attack. He was called an enthusiast; but can a great cause be served without enthusiasm? He did not shrink from noise, or notoriety; but can a battle be conducted without sound of trumpet? Every one will at least admit that he was always loyal and upright, sincere, disinterested, generous, and above all submissive. More French than any one in natural temperament, he was Roman above all others in intellect and in heart. Such was the man; not the least among those who have contributed to make modern Ultramontanism the dominant fact in the religious world of France.

A recent issue of *Les Contemporains*, a periodical published by the Assumptionist Fathers,<sup>1</sup> gives us a memoir of Mgr. de Salinis, Archbishop of Auch, 1798-1861, which bears singularly clear testimony to the way in which old positions have

<sup>1</sup> It was only the blindness of the most intense bigotry that could have led men of education to believe in the monstrous absurdities of *Diana Vaughan*, and to join with men like M. Gabriel Jogand (Leo Taxil) and Dr. Hacks-Bataille in a campaign against Freemasons and Oddfellows, and to persist in the belief after the exposure of the Congress at Trente, and the confessions of M. Jogand and Dr. Hacks-Bataille. Yet this was done in *La Croix*, and other publications of *La Bonne Presse*. The Assumptionist Fathers write often as if it were a merit to believe, without investigation, everything that is said against their adversaries.

been abandoned and new ones created. Antoine de Salins and O. P. Gerbert, Bishop of Perpignan, were the first two disciples of Lamennais, and the condition of the Church from 1815 to 1830 is thus described :—

“Without doubt the dogmas [of the Church] are immutable, but the form of its teaching is not so. In 1815 the form was no longer appropriate to the state of opinion. Should it be kept obstinately? Should it be abandoned? There was a great division. The old, the Gallicans, Jansenists, Cartesians wished to keep strictly to the blunders of the past; the young, convinced that all the mischief came from the revolt against the Pope, tried to bring back the Christian world to the throne of St. Peter, source of all Catholic life. The young have beaten the old, just as the romanticists have beaten the classicists; but the struggle was truly Homeric. Philosophy, Jansenism, Gallicanism were all three attacked at once in front, and with an audacity without parallel.” . . . “At this period St. Sulpice was still Cartesian, and somewhat Gallican. ‘The Sulpiciens are good priests,’ said the Nuncio, Mgr. di Rende, ‘but they follow the age instead of preceding it.’ . . . So there happened that which almost always happens. Wishing to inculcate Gallican ideas, the Sulpiciens drove many of their pupils into Ultramontane ideas.”

A scene which took place at the disputation for a degree in theology, by A. de Salinis, is thus described :

“The discussion was enlivened by an incident which Salinis afterwards used jokingly to call ‘one of the great sins of his youth.’ The Dean

of the Faculty of Theology of Paris, l'Abbé de Fontanil, was very Gallican, and swore by Mabillon. In the course of the discussion he stated a proposition on the power of the Popes in the Middle Ages which was tainted with Gallicanism. At once the witty candidate (the Béarnais are near neighbours of the Gascons) improvised a pretended text from Mabillon, which he opposed to the Dean. Mabillon had spoken: the case was decided: the Dean retracted."

In 1839 de Salinis was proposed as coadjutor to the Bishop of Troyes; but the Gallicans were still strong enough to ensure his rejection. Eight years afterwards, however, at the recommendation of the Pope, he was appointed Bishop of Amiens. At the Council of Soissons, in 1851, the Gallican party all but triumphed, and their defeat was due only to the eloquence and ability of Gerbet. In 1856 Mgr. de Salinis was made Archbishop of Auch. The state of the province is thus described: "Mgr. Chigi, the Papal Nuncio, advised him to accept the dignity. 'Accept, my Lord,' he said; 'you will give the last blow to Gallicanism.'" . . . "In fact, Gascony was still a thoroughly Gallican province and even somewhat Jansenist." . . . "The clergy showed themselves very Gallican." Mgr. de Salinis died as he had lived—"A little Béarnais who did not love the Gallicans." His last words were: "The great devotion of these times is the devotion to the Pope."

It is both singular and instructive to notice how parallel has been the religious revival in the Church of Rome and in the Anglican Church. In both cases it has been carried on in the face of

hostile legislation, and without assistance from the State: although the hostility of the civil power has not been nearly so marked in England as in France. Yet we have seen the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the partial secularizing of the Universities and of elementary schools, the cry for the separation of Church and State, and other measures of similar character. Along with this, however, the ecclesiastical revival has gone on its own way, distinguished in both branches of Catholicism by new and finer church buildings, by almost a fever of restoration, by more numerous and more ornate services, by multiplied Communions. This last feature is quite as prominent in the Roman Catholic Church as in our own. In the earlier time some confessors would hardly allow their penitents an Easter Communion without special preparation. Now a monthly Communion is urged on all, especially on children, with greater frequency for those who desire it. Then again, diocesan, provincial, national synods, and congresses of many kinds have been multiplied in both Churches; but the advance in every direction has been more marked among the Roman Catholics than amongst ourselves. Different as the current interpretation of our Church services and of liturgical worship may be from what it was in the first thirty years of the century, we can hardly say that the Prayer-book itself, or that the Liturgy has been altered. But in the Church of Rome the peculiar Roman Rite has superseded almost every national and provincial Rite. We have had no obligatory addition to our creed, such

as the belief, now imposed on all Roman Catholics, in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and in the Infallibility of the Pope. The better observance of Fasts and Festivals and Saints' Days has been happily revived; but we have no such innovations as the dedication of whole months to the special *culte* of St. Joseph, of the Blessed Virgin, of the Sacred Heart, of the Rosary, and of Purgatory. We perhaps honour the Mother of our Lord more now than formerly, but we have introduced no such parody of the ever-blessed Trinity, as "Jesus, Mary, Joseph," and the use of the initials "J. M. J." at the head of prayers and of correspondence. There has been no such centralization of power and of opinion in the English Church as has been going on in the Church of Rome; rather the contrary. The moderating influence of our bishops, and of our great religious societies, is still felt. The parallel might be pushed further, and into many details. The Revival in both Churches has been real. In both the general tendency has been the same: in both there may be something to deplore. In the Church of England, at least, we may hope the better tendencies may yet predominate over those that are less beneficial.



### XIII

#### ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS IN SPAIN

IN reading the biographies of Spanish ecclesiastics, and in conversation with Spanish friends, one had often met the remark that such or such a person had gained some particular post of advancement, generally in the Cathedral Chapter, by *oposicion*, that is, by competitive examination. It was, moreover, the more important offices of the Chapter, with special duties attached to them, which were mentioned in this way. It had been often my intention, but I never found opportunity, to put together the desultory information which I had thus obtained, and to master the system in its details. This I had been unable to do, until quite recently there appeared in the *Revue du Clergé Français* two articles, the first in the number for December 1, 1900, the other in that of February 15, 1901. The author of these articles, entitled *Le Régime du Concours dans les Diocèses d'Espagne*, is Dom J. L. Pierdait, prior of the Benedictine Monastery of Silos, in the province of Burgos. The occupation of this ancient monastery by Benedictines from France has been fruitful in literary and historical labours, and the present essay is but a mere sample of the productions

which they have given to the world. The following pages are a condensed abridgement of Dom Pierdait's articles ; the references have been compared with the originals, and on many points Dom Pierdait's experiences and information are closely corroborative of my own.

The appointment of parish priests after competitive examination is in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, Sessio xxiv., cap. 18 ; and the observance of the decree has been urged on the Church by several popes, by Pius V. in 1566, by Clement XI. (1700-1720), by Benedict XIV. (1740-1758), and in Spain by the popes in successive Concordats, in 1737, in 1753, in 1851, and later. Clement XI. laid down the main lines which are still followed in Spain in the examinations for parochial benefices. These are as follows: 1. The examination must be the same for all the candidates, the same questions given, the same text for sermon. 2. The programme must be dictated to all at the same moment. 3. To all must be given the same time for answering. 4. The candidates must be in the same room, and nobody must go in or out during the time of examination. 5. The candidates must write the answers with their own hand. 6. Questions of dogma and ethics must be answered in Latin, but the sermon must be composed in the language of the country.

Let us see how these examinations for parish priests are actually conducted in Spain.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Article 26 of the Concordat of 1851 says : " All parish priests, without distinction of locality, class, or time, shall be appointed by open competition according to the dis-

competitors are usually those who have followed the course of instruction in the Diocesan Seminaries, or schools for the clergy, either the less or the greater course, and they have usually received the minor Orders. But there is nothing to prevent a seminarist of another diocese from competing, nor even a layman, who, however, if he gain a benefice, must receive the lower Orders, and be regularly ordained before proceeding to his cure.

Such a competition cannot take place at every parochial vacancy. The custom is to wait, sometimes several years, until there are the number of vacancies which the bishop judges to be sufficient. In the diocese of Burgos there was no examination between 1892 and 1900. During the vacancy the parishes are administered by unbeneficed priests, *economos*, the French, *desservants*. All who desire to compete in the examination must send in their names, testimonials, and legal certificates to the bishop sixty days before the examination. The candidates are generally very numerous. At Burgos, in 1900, there were six hundred—half the number of clergy in the diocese. Not to compete would be almost a confession of ignorance or indolence. The parishes are divided into two

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positions of the holy Council of Trent, the Bishops making lists of three of the approved candidates, and sending them to her Majesty (Queen Isabella II.) for her to appoint from those proposed. . . . the coadjutors of the parishes shall be named by the Ordinaries after previous synodal examination." V. de la Fuente, *Historia Eclesiastica de España*, tomo vi. p. 394. A *Memorial* presented to Urban VIII. by D. J. Chacumero and the Bishop of Cordova in 1633 by order of Philip IV. is full of complaints of the neglect or violation of these examinations.

categories, urban and rural. The value of the urban benefices is from £35 to £120; of the rural from £30 to £35. This is independent of fees of all kinds. The examination lasts two days: The first day two questions on dogmatic and six on moral theology have to be answered, and a case of conscience to be resolved. On the second day a paragraph of the Council of Trent has to be translated into Spanish, then a sermon must be composed in Spanish on the same theme. To transcribe the Latin programme would take up too much space. When all have finished, the answers, unsigned except by a motto, are submitted to a jury composed of cathedral dignitaries, of the city clergy, and of the professors of the larger seminary. The papers are classified by votes of the examiners. If a set of papers is abnormally bad, the candidate, instead of obtaining a benefice, is suspended altogether from clerical office, and is ordered to present himself to the bishop for examination, until he give proof of sufficiency.

The successful candidates, in order of their classification, are requested to report themselves to the bishop's secretary, and to name the three benefices, to one of which they wish to be appointed. The bishop then makes out the lists, and sends them to the Government. Three names are assigned to each parish, but the Government invariably chooses the first for the appointment, and the Minister of Grace and Justice forwards to the bishop the legal title-deeds which authorize the civil possession of the benefice. Collation by the im-

position of a biretta and installation follow, and the parish priest is henceforth irremovable.<sup>1</sup>

The mode of appointment of the Cathedral Chapters and other dignitaries is similar. One result of the system is the great respect paid to the members of the cathedral body, and this independently of age. The successful canon may be quite a young man, but he has given proof of a degree of intellectual culture and of learning superior to that of the parochial clergy. "Thanks to the competitive examinations, every priest of talent and learning is morally certain sooner or later to enter one of the corporate bodies which form a veritable aristocracy of the Spanish clergy."<sup>2</sup> The Spanish Cathedral Chapters consist of a dean, of from twenty-four to twenty-eight canons, an archpriest, an archdeacon, a precentor, a school-master (for the choir-boys), and in the metropolitan Churches a treasurer. There are also some twenty beneficiaries (prebendaries). The stipends seem very low to us: £180 to £240 for the dean, £120 to £180 for the canons, and from £60 to £80 for the prebends. Still, in Spain on these sums a dignitary can live with ease, and, if he add to it some other office, may even leave a small fortune behind him: "A thing," says the prior, "which, to the honour of our clergy, is unknown in France."<sup>3</sup> Of these canons some have special and more important duties than the rest—the

<sup>1</sup> *Revue du Clergé Français*. Décembre 1<sup>e</sup>, 1900. Tome xxv. pp. 55-70.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Février 13, 1901. Tome xxv. p. 613.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Février 15, 1901. Tome xxv. p. 614.

*theological* or *lectoral*, who has to give a certain number of lectures on Holy Scripture; the *penitenciaro*, whose duty it is to hear confessions; the *doctoral*, who is the canonist of the chapter; the *magistral*, who is the preacher. In most dioceses there are also, besides the cathedral chapters, collegiate chapters, mostly of former monasteries, under an *Abad*, which cannot now be described in detail.

How are these dignities appointed? There is a certain element of favour in them on the part of the Crown or the bishop. The king names the dean. The simple canons without office are appointed alternately by the Crown and the bishop. The precentor in the metropolitan Churches and one canonry in each chapter are in the nomination of the Pope; but all the four official canonries are filled by competitive examination; and not only every priest, but every seminary pupil who has finished his theological studies, is allowed to compete for these.

Dom Pierdait gives an example of this. Thirty years ago a student was finishing his theological studies at Santander; he was not yet in Orders. The Rector of the Seminary said to him: "The Magistral of Oviedo is vacant; go to the examination; you have a good chance of getting it." The young man was reluctant, but the Rector insisted, and he went. He gained the prebend, and became canon and preacher of the cathedral before he was even sub-deacon.<sup>1</sup> Since 1888, with the

<sup>1</sup> *Revue du Clergé Français*. Février 15, 1901. Tome xxv. p. 616.

consent of the Holy See, the Crown has thrown a larger number of canonries open to competition.

When a vacancy takes place in a chapter, it is announced in the diocesan *Boletín*. The bishop then fixes the date of the examination. It is not necessary for the candidates to belong to the diocese; it is sufficient to have finished the course of theological study. The examination is very different from that for parish priests. It differs, too, according to the particular canonry that is vacant. But invariably there is a public discussion, a sort of literary tournament, like the dialectic jousts of the Middle Ages. These are held in the cathedral, in public, before a large audience, and friends applaud enthusiastically an argument well driven home. The mode of choosing the subject for debate is curious, almost like the *sortes Virgilianæ*. One of the choir-boys is sent for; a paper-knife is given him; three times he plunges it between the pages of the *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard. From one of these pages the candidate must select his theme for discussion. He is put in a cell in the seminary, and twenty-four hours are given him for preparation, and a servitor is assigned him to get any books from the library that he may require to consult. Then he enters the lists; one hour is allowed for the exposition of his theme, one hour for the discussion of it. Two rival competitors are named for the attack. Woe to him who is not prepared with an answer, or is nonplussed! His defeat is public, and will never be forgotten. The discussion is in Latin. This gives an advantage

to the professors of the seminaries and the universities; but the Spanish clergy can generally express themselves sufficiently well in Latin. "They may not," says the prior, "know the language so thoroughly as our French clergy do, but they can make a more ready use of it."<sup>1</sup> This, too, is my own experience. The candidate must also preach for an hour in Spanish. The text is chosen in the same way as before. A chorister thrusts a paper-knife three times into the Catechism of Pius V. The candidate must choose his subject from one of these three places. He has twenty-four hours for preparation. The public discussion and a sermon form part of all the higher competitive examinations, the *oposiciones mayores*. For the official canonries the candidate must also offer a written thesis on the special subject of his office. It has to be composed under the same conditions as in the examinations for parochial priests. These examinations take a long time, sometimes a month, as only one sermon or discussion can be heard in one day. The number of candidates is usually five or six, or more. The past life and previous services of the candidates have also some weight in the decision. The bishop is usually the president of the jury of examiners. As before, three names are submitted to the Government, which invariably chooses the first.

Now, what are we to say to such a system as this? No one would urge its adoption indiscrimi-

<sup>1</sup> *Revue du Clergé Français*. Février 15, 1901. Tome xxv. p. 620.



nately elsewhere. Yet, considering his high position as prior of one of the great Benedictine monasteries, it is well to listen to what Dom Pierdait has to say in its favour, especially when compared with what some would call the "more Catholic" mode of appointment in France. He writes :

"Coming from the Church, which is aided by the Holy Spirit in its work of legislation as well as in its general government, competitive examinations cannot fail to be an efficacious institution and fruitful in precious results. By the prospect which they hold out they stimulate working, and keep up among the clergy a zeal for theological studies. By the privilege of irremovability, which is one of their consequences, they strengthen self-respect, and assure a legitimate independence within rightful limits, and the duty of obedience. Is it not true that a clergy, whose situation depends entirely on the episcopal good pleasure, is liable to retain always the habits of the seminary, and to seek for advancement by complaisance towards superiors, and by employment of means justly under suspicion? . . . Perhaps it is convenient to be able to move one's clergy at will like pieces on a chess-board ; but what a responsibility for a bishop, and occasionally what injustice must be committed involuntarily and unintentionally ! Competitive examinations have their drawbacks : but it is not without reason that the Church prefers them before any other method in the collation of cures and benefices." <sup>1</sup>

He asserts, too, that the Spanish clergy owe all

<sup>1</sup> *Revue du Clergé Français*. Février 15, 1901. Tome xxv. pp. 623-4.

their best qualities to these competitive examinations. Without these, they would be sunk in indolence and ignorance, in political or ecclesiastical intrigue. He does not close his eyes to its inconveniences :

“ Especially in the irremovability of benefices. One can easily understand that a priest, who is the assured possessor of his parish, who has never to fear removal by way of disgrace, may be tempted to take life too easily, to let things alone, to give himself no trouble, to preach less frequently, to neglect the religious instruction of the children, etc. Here below, no institution is absolutely perfect, or free from defects ; but this is not a sufficient reason for suppressing such as otherwise present incontestable advantages.”<sup>1</sup>

The above has not been written to advocate the introduction of competitive examination for the Anglican clergy. Nothing could be further from the writer's wish. We are overdone with competitive examinations ; they take up far too many of the best years of a man's life ; their results are by no means always encouraging. The utmost form of examination which I would advocate is that adopted in some French dioceses, where priests for the first five years after ordination are required annually to submit a sermon and a simple thesis to the bishop, or his delegates, for criticism or approval ; or, perhaps, that some cathedral canonries might be assigned to approved attainment in some special branch of theology or ecclesiastical learning,

<sup>1</sup> *Revue du Clergé Français*. Février 15, 1901. Tome xxv. p. 626.

like the *theological* and *doctoral* in Spanish chapters, so as to become recognized and trustworthy advisers for the bishop and the diocese on such subjects. This by the way.

This *résumé* has been chiefly written because the facts show in the strongest way the misuse of the word "Catholic" applied to such subjects as those of patronage, appointment, relations between Church and State, in which there is no one usage which has any exclusive claim to be called catholic or universal.<sup>1</sup> Dom Pierdait, following other observers, remarks that the Basque Provinces and Navarre are the only fervently religious provinces of Spain ;<sup>2</sup> but, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, no bishop had the appointment to a single benefice in the Basque Provinces ; the livings were all in the gift of the Crown, or the clergy were elected by the parishioners themselves ; and Father Larramendi, S.J., assures us that these last made by no means the worst appointments.<sup>3</sup> In Navarre

<sup>1</sup> In the *Revue du Clergé Français*, April 1, 1902, the well-known Canonist, R. P. A. Boudinhon, in an article entitled *Comment sont nommés les Evêques*, shows how almost impossible any codification of the Canon Law is, even for the Church of Rome, especially on this subject. "Either you must keep to a *résumé* of the Council of Trent, and then the new Code would be partly inapplicable to half the Catholic world at least ; or else you must find room for all the practices in use in different countries, and then there will be no common code ; moreover, there would be the danger of giving a legislative sanction to measures tolerated rather than formally approved, because they have been or are imposed by circumstances." Tome xxx. p. 228, no. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue du Clergé Français*. Février 15, 1901. Tome xxv. p. 625.

<sup>3</sup> *Corografía de Guipuzcoa*, pp. 109-10 (Barcelona, 1882). The details of the ecclesiastical appointments in most of the parishes in the Basque Provinces and in Navarre at the

the action of the bishops was controlled by the local Cortes in every way. Yet the result was good. In France the mode of appointment is what some would call "more Catholic," but, as we have seen above, an ecclesiastic of the highest position, prior of a Benedictine monastery, who knows the systems both of France and Spain, rather inclines to the latter, and does not shrink from styling it, strange as it may seem to us, as "coming from the Church, aided by the Holy Spirit."<sup>1</sup> Certainly the modern<sup>2</sup> French system of placing all patronage practically in the hands of the bishop does not work altogether satisfactorily. On the side of the clergy it leads to flattery and subservience to the bishop, as any one may see by reading the diocesan bulletins; on the side of the bishop it leads to arbitrary action and to partiality. Not only public, but private information assures us that part at least of the exodus of priests in France has been caused by the arbitrary and, as it was considered, unfair action of the bishops. Here again this is not alleged with a view to weakening the power of the bishops in the Church of England; that needs rather to be strengthened. But facts such as those considered above show us that there is no one Catholic, universal rule in such matters. They are contingent on circumstances and ever-changing relations. They should be dealt with in faith in the rule of the ever-living Head of the Church, in

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beginning of the nineteenth century may be found in the *Diccionario Geográfico de España*, por la Real Academia de la Historia, Section 1, tomos i. ii. (Madrid, 1802.)

<sup>1</sup> *Venant de l'Église, assistée du Saint Esprit*, p. 623.

<sup>2</sup> Since the Concordat of 1801.

the guidance of the Holy Spirit, sought by prayer, to lead us to see what is best to be done in the circumstances in which our lives are set. There is no necessity that the same identical practice should apply to the whole Church; usages may differ in different sections of the Church following differing local, national, racial, or political relations, without in the least impairing the unity of the whole.<sup>1</sup> To such matters we may apply the lines of Tennyson in his "Morte d'Arthur":

"And God fulfils Himself in many ways,  
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

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<sup>1</sup> Cor. xii. 12-27 ; Ephes. iv. 13-16.

## XIV

### A SPANISH SERVICE FOR THE NEW YEAR

A WISH has been often expressed that the Church of England had some official service for the vigil of the New, and for devotionally passing the closing hours of the Old year. The "Watch Night," as it is called, is observed with solemnity by Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and other Protestants, and is made one of the most impressive services of the year. It is also observed in many districts of the Roman Catholic world, but with no uniformity of service.

Dom Prosper Guéranger in his *L'Année Liturgique* remarks that the Gothic Church of Spain is alone in associating this Service and Thanksgiving with the holy Eucharist, and he quotes and translates the *illatio*.<sup>1</sup> The service is printed in the Mozarabic Liturgy as the Office for the Sunday before the Epiphany.<sup>2</sup> The editors of Migne's edition say in their note: "The Mass which the Mozarabes sing on the Sunday before the Epiphany is that which they celebrated formerly on the first of January, at the beginning of a new year, before the solemnity of the Circumcision was instituted, as is

<sup>1</sup> *Le Temps de Noël*, vol. i. pp. 464-5.

<sup>2</sup> Migne's *Patrologiæ cursus completus*, tomus lxxxv, *Liturgiæ Mozarabiciæ*, tomus prior, col. 222-226.

evident to any one who reads the prayers of this Mass." St. Isidore of Seville, who died in 636, mentions the Feast of the Circumcision;<sup>1</sup> thus this Service for the last day of the old year and the first of the new must be of early institution. A separate Communion Service for the old and new year would therefore be rather a revival of a primitive practice than an innovation. The following are some of the more appropriate passages of this Office:—

"*Missa.*"<sup>2</sup> The beginning of the New Year, which to-day we have begun to celebrate with fasting, we now, dearly beloved brethren, dedicate to God with oblation; beseeching the same Christ who is the Head of all beginning, to grant us to pass in faith the space of this coming year, that through the eyes of His pity, we may worthily please Him in all things.

*Alia Oratio.* God, Who art the same, whose years shall not fail, grant us so to pass this year in devotion and service pleasing to Thee, that we may not be deprived of subsistence, and may render holy obedience with fitting devotion to Thee. *Amen.*

*Post nomina.* Christ, Who art the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending, bless these sacrifices which we offer to Thee at the beginning of the present year, and so write the names of those offering in the book of life, that Thou mayst give rest

<sup>1</sup> *Sancti Isidori Opera omnia*, tomus sextus. *De Regula Monachorum*, cap. x. de Feriis. Migne's *Patrologia*, tomus lxxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Missa* here probably means only "a prayer," as "*alia oratio*" follows immediately. *Cp.* Conc. Tolet. iv. canon 8, "Componuntur ergo hymni, sicut componuntur *missæ* sive preces vel orationes, sive commendationes seu manus impositiones."

to the dead ; that we all, who have celebrated the beginning of this year with a song of praise,<sup>1</sup> may worthily pass the remainder of it in Thy service. *Amen.*

*Ad pacem* (at the giving of the *pax*, or kiss). O Lord, bless the crown of the year with Thy goodness, that both the fields may be filled with plenty and fatness, and that we who are in the valley of tears may overflow with abundance of peace and sweetness.

*Inlatio* (this is rather a long prayer, we give only the latter part).<sup>2</sup> With our offered gifts we dedicate to-day to the living God, both the end of the year that is finished, and the beginning of the next one. By Him we have passed through the last year, by Him we enter on the beginning of another. Therefore we assemble in common prayer and devotion at the commencement of this year. We pour forth to Thee our God and Father our simple prayers : that Thou, Who by the nativity of Thy Son didst sanctify the computation of our present era, mayst grant us a peaceable year and to pass its days in Thy service. Fill also the earth with fruit ; free our souls and bodies from sin and sickness. Remove all stumbling-blocks from us. Beat down the enemy. Keep famine from us, and drive far from

<sup>1</sup> "Tripudio laudationis," this may be literally "a dance of praise." Religious dancing before the Holy Sacrament was once common in Spain, and still survives in the *Seixes* of Seville, and at Jaca in Aragon. Cf. J. Lomas, *Sketches in Spain, from Nature, Art, and Life*, where the words and music of the *Seixes* are noted, pp. 189-194. (A. and C. Black, Edinburgh.)

<sup>2</sup> The whole of this *illatio* is given in Latin and French. by Dom Guéranger, *L'Année Liturgique*, loc. cit.



our land all harm and calamity, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, Whom in the Unity of the Trinity, Thrones and Dominations praise without ceasing, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy.

*Prayer after the Sanctus.* Truly holy, truly blessed is Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, by whose inspiration we cross the threshold of the present year with confession, by whose guidance we so repent that we may pass the remaining seasons of the year in divine obedience. He is truly our Saviour and Lord, Thy Son Jesus Christ, Who is both the consecration of all time and the founder of the ages, Christ the Lord and eternal Redeemer.

*Post pridie*, in the afternoon. Desiring to propitiate Thee, O omnipotent God, with the offering of this evening sacrifice, we beseech Thee favourably to accept this our holocaust, by which we all who desire to sanctify the beginning of the year to Thee, may joyfully pass it in acts of holiness. *Amen.*

*At the Lord's Prayer.* O Lord, Who art the great day of Angels, little in the day of men ;<sup>1</sup> God the Word before all time, Word made flesh in due time ; the creator of the sun (living) under the sun, give to us of this day to celebrate a solemn assembly of ecclesiastical dignity to Thy praise. Thou Who hast consecrated to Thyself the beginning of the year with such first-fruits, do Thou bless us Thy servants, and sanctify these sacrifices which we offer to Thee, so that we may immolate all

<sup>1</sup> "Domine qui magnus dies es angelorum : parvus in die hominum." Unless we can read *in die* in both places : Great in the day of angels ; little in the day of men.

time with its vicissitudes and works to Thee, Who hast taught us to pray, and say on earth: Our Father, etc.

*The Benediction.* May all ye who through the help of our Saviour have celebrated the beginning of this year with praise, come to the end of it without reproach. *Amen.* May the same our Redeemer give you a year of peace and pleasantness, that your hearts may be always made ready for Him. *Amen.* By the blessing of God, Who made heaven and earth, may that which you have begun in tears be completed in spiritual songs and joy. *Amen.* Through the mercy of God, Who lives and governs all things, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

I have before me a "Special Exercise for the Vigil of the last Night of the Year, for the use of the Associates of the Nocturnal Adoration of the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar," published at Valencia, 1893, a service mainly in Latin, but partly in Spanish.<sup>1</sup>

At eleven o'clock at night the Guard of Honour<sup>2</sup> take up their position, kneeling, in line, before the Blessed Sacrament. They say, in Latin:—

"Blessed and praised be the most Holy and most divine Sacrament of the Altar. *Amen.*"

<sup>1</sup> *Oficio del Santísimo Sacramento . . . y el Ejercicio especial para la vigilia de la última noche del Año*, pp. 310-325. (Valencia, 1893.)

<sup>2</sup> These semi-military terms, "Special Exercise," "Guard of Honour," etc., are not uncommon in the pious associations and confraternities of Roman Catholics. They may remind some of the Church Army and of the Salvation Army. The rubrical directions of the service are given in Spanish to the "right" and "left" divisions, not in technical liturgical language.

The Priest responds: "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*"

Then the *Te Deum* is sung, as a thanksgiving for all the blessings received during the closing year, after which—

*Pr.* "Let us bless the Father and the Son, with the Holy Spirit.

*R.* "Let us praise and magnify Him for ever.

*Pr.* "Lord, hear my prayer.

*R.* "And let my cry come unto Thee.

*Pr.* "The Lord be with you.

*R.* "And with thy Spirit.

#### "LET US PRAY :

"God, Whose mercies are without number, and the treasure of whose goodness is infinite, we give thanks to Thy most merciful Majesty for the gifts conferred upon us, praying always Thy clemency that Thou who grantest the petitions of those who ask, and dost not reject them, mayest bestow on us future rewards : Through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

Then the *Magnificat* is sung.

*Pr.* "After child-birth thou hast remained a Virgin inviolate.

*R.* "O Mother of God, intercede for us.

#### "LET US PRAY :

"O God, Who gavest mankind the reward of eternal salvation by thy fruitful virginity of the blessed Mary, grant, we beseech Thee, that we may feel her interceding for us, by whose means we

have worthily received the Author of Life, our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son. *Amen.*"

The 51st Psalm is then recited, verse by verse antiphonally, by the congregation, those on the right and left responding to each other, in acknowledgment of all sins committed during the past year.

*Pr.* "Have mercy upon me, O God."

*R.* "Have mercy upon me."

"LET US PRAY :

"O God, Whose nature and property," etc., as in our Occasional Prayers.

The Ps. cxxx., *De profundis*, is then recited for all deceased members of the Association ; which finished :—

*Pr.* "Grant them eternal rest, O Lord."

*R.* "And may perpetual light shine upon them."

*Pr.* "From the gate of hell,

*R.* "Rescue their souls, O Lord."

*Pr.* "May they rest in peace."

*R.* "*Amen.*"

*Pr.* "Lord, hear my prayer."

*R.* "And let my cry come unto Thee."

*Pr.* "The Lord be with you."

*R.* "And with thy Spirit."

"LET US PRAY :

"God, the bestower of pardon and lover of the salvation of mankind, we implore Thy mercy to grant that all the brethren, friends, and benefactors of our congregation who have passed from this world, may, through the intercession of the blessed

Mary, ever Virgin, and of all Thy Saints, obtain the fellowship of everlasting bliss.

“O God, the Creator and Redeemer of all the faithful, grant remission of all their sins to the souls of all Thy servants, both men and women (*famulorum famularumque*); that, by our pious prayers, they may obtain that pardon which they always longed for; Who livest and reignest, with God the Father, in unity of the Holy Spirit, God for ever and ever. *Amen.*

*Pr.* “Grant them everlasting rest, O Lord.

*R.* “And may perpetual light shine on them.

*Pr.* “May they rest in peace.

*R.* “*Amen.*”

Then all, prostrate on the ground, await in silence the stroke of midnight; upon which the Priest thrice repeats solemnly, each time answered by all the worshippers:—

“The name of the Lord be praised from this time forth for evermore. *Amen.*”

Then follows a prayer, in Spanish: <sup>1</sup> “O my God, lo! a new year begins. Deign, O Lord, to bless us in it, and to fill our hearts with Thy holy love, and with a true charity to our brethren. Be ever present in our spirit and in our heart to sanctify all our actions. Give us all the good things of soul and body which we need in order to come to the possession of the heavenly inheritance. Console the afflicted, relieve the sick, and, above all,

<sup>1</sup> In the Latin prayers the singular pronoun “Thou,” “Thee,” etc., is used in addressing God: in the Spanish, the plural, “You,” “Yours,” etc. “Dignaos,” “Estad,” “vuestras,” etc.

O my God, convert the sinners. Fill with Thy rich blessings our holy Father the Pope, our Bishop, and all those who are enrolled in the holy ministry. May all those who are preparing themselves for the priesthood receive also the fulness of Thy gifts. Preserve and re-kindle the faith of our beloved country: illuminate and direct our temporal superiors: take souls out of purgatory. We ask all these graces by the intercession of Mary, conceived without sin, and by the merits of Thy divine Son, Who takes to-day the name of Jesus, which signifies the Saviour, and Who lives and reigns, in unity of the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. *Amen.*"

The *Veni, Creator* is now sung, preluded by a sentence from the Priest: "In order to ask the graces necessary to employ holily the coming year," after which—

*Pr.* "Send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created.

*R.* "And Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.

#### "LET US PRAY:

"Let the virtue of the Holy Spirit be present with us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, and may it mercifully cleanse our hearts, and defend us from all adversity; through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

(In Spanish): "What will happen to me during this year, O my God? I know not anything. All that I know is that nothing will happen to me which Thou hast not foreseen, disposed, willed, and ordered from all eternity; and this is sufficient for me. I adore Thine eternal and inscrutable designs,

and I submit myself, with all my heart, through love towards Thee. I wish everything, I accept everything, I make the sacrifice of everything to Thee, and I unite this sacrifice to that of my divine Saviour. I ask Thee, in His name, and by His infinite merits, for patience in my afflictions, and for a perfect submission to everything which Thou wilt or permittest. *Amen.*"

*Priest* (in Spanish): "Let us consecrate ourselves to the most holy Virgin."

(In Latin): "We flee to thy protection, holy Mother of God. Despise not our prayers in our need, but ever deliver us from all perils, O glorious and blessed Virgin.

*Pr.* "After child-birth, Virgin, thou hast remained inviolate.

*R.* "Mother of God, intercede for us."

Then follows again the prayer: "O God, who gavest mankind, etc.," and the service concludes, as it began, with "Blessed and praised for ever be the most Holy and most divine Sacrament of the Altar."

There is, of course, much in this service which no English Churchman could use, nor do I for a moment urge either its adoption or any imitation of it. It may, however, furnish a few hints and suggestions towards framing some suitable service for the last night of the year,<sup>1</sup> a want that is deeply felt in our own Church. It has the merit of being partly in the vernacular, and of being for the most part really congregational; not a service between the clergy and the choir alone.

<sup>1</sup> Query: In conjunction with a Celebration of the Holy Communion?—ED. *Anglican Church Magazine*.

## XV

### THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESSES IN THE CHURCH OF ROME

#### I.—JERUSALEM, 1893.<sup>1</sup>

AMONG the manifold activities which the Churches are displaying in our days, perhaps the most conspicuous are the various congresses, conferences, meetings for special purposes, diocesan, provincial, national, and of still wider extent. In our own Church, Diocesan Meetings, Church Congresses, and Lambeth Conferences are characteristic of this latter half of the nineteenth century. Events of this kind are common in the Roman Church, and she has added to them forms of action peculiar to herself. We have no congresses which fill exactly the place of the Congrès Eucharistiques of Rome; still less has anything like the revival of Pilgrimages yet been attempted among us. At first the Congrès Eucharistiques, of which seven have been already held at intervals of two or three years, were concerned more with the inner action of the Church than with its influence on the

<sup>1</sup> *Études Préparatoires au Congrès Eucharistique à Jérusalem en 1893.* (8, Rue François 1er, Paris, 1893.)

*Some Notes of Travel*, by a (late) Missionary Bishop. (Nutt, 1890.)



Churches outside. But the eighth Congrès Eucharistique, which is to be held in the present year in Jerusalem, has a wider significance. It is hoped that it will greatly tend to the union of at least some of the Eastern Churches with the Church of Rome:—

“The Eucharistic Meetings at Jerusalem, in 1893, seem destined to have a far wider result than the annual Eucharistic Congresses which have been held hitherto . . . for the discussions which will take place there may well, with the help of God, be a point of departure for the union of East and West on the ground of the Eucharist.”<sup>1</sup>

With a view to this, the Congress has been taken under the especial protection of Pope Leo XIII., and a cardinal, with the rank of legate, has been appointed to preside, and to represent the Holy See at Jerusalem.

The more general revival of Pilgrimages was occasioned, first, by the alleged apparitions of the B. V. M. at La Salette, and at Lourdes, with the accompanying miracles. They have now become so common that it would be difficult to find in France any very professedly devout family, one at least of whose members has not made some pilgrimage. From the year 1882 there have been yearly pilgrimages to Jerusalem. These have been chiefly promoted by the Père d'Alzon, and by the Assumptionist Fathers of Paris, who possess more than one steam vessel for the service of pilgrims to the East. This, of 1893, is the

<sup>1</sup> *Études Préparatoires*, p. 275.

thirteenth, and by reason of its conjunction with the Eucharistic Congress it has attracted great attention, and has been the object of many preliminary publications in French religious papers and reviews—*e.g.* in the *Revue de la Terre Sainte*, in the *Échos de Notre-Dame de France*, and elsewhere. A volume of 320 pages, entitled *Études Préparatoires au Pèlerinage Eucharistique en Terre Sainte et à Jérusalem en Avril et en Mai*, 1893, has been put forth by these Fathers. The Preface contains the various Briefs of approval of Pope Leo XIII. in favour of the Pilgrimage and Congress; a catena of "Glorious titles of the Apostle St. Peter in Greek Hymnography," cited as the witness which the liturgical books of the Greeks give to the primacy of the Holy See, then follow some extracts from the Office of St. Leo the Great in the Greek Church, concluding thus:—

"Let us pray that the East may recognize, by these traits of resemblance, not only the Patriarch of the West, but the Shepherd of the sheep as well as of the lambs, the Supreme Pontiff, whose word is that of Peter, whose teachings are those of Christ."<sup>1</sup>

The *Études Préparatoires* which follow this preface are full of interest. They form a series of papers on nearly all the points of divergence, or of likeness, between the Roman and the Oriental liturgies. The tone is conciliatory, almost to the verge of flattery. The resemblances are pushed even to a claim of identity of doctrine, especially as regards transubstantiation: the differ-

<sup>1</sup> *Études Préparatoires*, p. xxxii.

ences are made the least of, and free toleration of them is fully proclaimed. But the effect of these studies is greatly marred by the disjointed and fragmentary manner in which they are presented. The subjects are discussed in different numbers, and do not follow in any consecutive order; while the essays and sermon are broken up in a provoking way, and lose thereby much of their force.

But brief and scattered as the several little treatises may be, broken up and detached as they are, they are still worth careful perusal. They open with a paper on "The historical fitness of a general assembly on Eucharistic work at Jerusalem," giving an account of the chief attempts at reconciliation and reunion made by the popes, of the toleration which they have extended to the Greek and Eastern Churches, and a plea for holding the present Congress. Then follows a short enumeration of the Eastern liturgies, of their language, of their doctrine, of the special terms and ornaments connected with them. Many of the points thus summarily mentioned are made the subject of fuller treatment afterwards. Thus we have separate papers on eucharistic vessels and vestments; on the word *λειτουργία*; on the *Agape*; on the Diptychs of the Church of Jerusalem; on the Eulogiæ; the *ἐπίκλησις*, or Invocation of the Holy Ghost; a very interesting one on the Azyrne, the unleavened bread used in the Eucharist; and two on the word *ἀντίτυπον*, the first in French, the second in Latin—*De vi theologica hujus vocis ἀντίτυπον*. To these may be added one on "Communion in both kinds," and

that on the "Dogma of Transubstantiation among Eastern Writers." There are also valuable articles on "The Languages of the Oriental Liturgies in general," and specially on the Byzantine Liturgies; on those of Syria; on the ancient Liturgy of Northern Bulgaria; and, with separate paging, occupying a whole number, a comparative study of the Greek Liturgy and the Latin Mass. Other articles describe the relations of former popes with the Eastern Church, or give short biographies of the popes of Eastern origin who filled the See of Rome during the eighth century. A sketch is given of the Second Council of Lyons (1274), and of Pope Leo XIII. and his relations with the East; and there are biographies of St. Theodorus, the Cœnobite, of Sophronius, the Sophist, and of his namesake, the pilgrim. In addition are several minor notices which we must pass by, and a long and eloquent discourse on the Eucharistic Pilgrimage, by R. P. Edmond, delivered at Orleans, February 10th, 1893.

In this long series of papers are many things worthy of remark, and much which we think would be new to our readers. The famous letter of Pliny is given as the date of the separation of the Holy Communion from the evening *agape*, and its celebration in the morning. The practice of evening Communion on Fast days is recorded in the Maronite Liturgy, down to 1736; and it is noted that in the Syrian Liturgies the remains of the Elements are to be consumed by the Celebrant only, after the Mass and the departure of the people. In the life of St. Gregory III. (731-741) it is remarked, that "in the first cen-

turies there was consecrated only what was necessary for the Communion of the people.”<sup>1</sup> The greatest stress is laid throughout on the identity of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the Church of Rome with that held by the Eastern Churches. In the paper on the liturgy contained in cap. iii. of the *Ecclesiastica Hierarchia* of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, it is said that the priest “*transubstantiates* (*il transubstantie*, the italics are in the original) the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of the Saviour.”<sup>2</sup> Yet in the paper on “The doctrine of Transubstantiation among Oriental Writers” we read: “If the term *μετουσίωσις*, transubstantiation, has a relatively recent origin, it has none the less always had its equivalents in the language of Eastern writers”; with the foot-note, “The same remark may be equally applied to the term substantiation and its Latin equivalents.”<sup>3</sup>

On other points of difference in Oriental rites a very wide tolerance is allowed. Thus, in the discussion of the use of leavened, or of unleavened bread, the conclusion is: “If we enter into the fitness of either use, we shall find testimonies in favour of leavened, equally as well as in favour of unleavened bread.” . . . “Since the Council of Florence, all priests are bound, under pain of grievous sin, to employ the bread used in the Rite to which they belong. Priests *ought* to use the one or the other for consecration, each according to the Rite of his own Church.”<sup>4</sup>

So, too, the admirable sermon of R. P. Edmond is couched generally in the most conciliatory

<sup>1</sup> p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 204-5.

terms. He especially warns his hearers not to undervalue the learning and intellect of the East. "It is all important," he exclaims, "that we should be sufficiently humble to ask and to receive the alms of learning and of sacred science. The claim to be able to teach the East everything, and to have nothing to learn from her, would be fatal to our work:"<sup>1</sup>—words that may well be pondered by all missionaries in the East. Yet this discourse, so excellent in most respects, so charitable, so full of information, concludes in that strange, sensational tone, which is the bane of much of the French religious writing of the day. "Let me take you," says the preacher,

"into my confidence, and disclose to you what it is that gives invincible energy to my hopes. I know, with certainty, that at different places in France, both in the world and in the cloister, there are lives sacrificed, voluntarily immolated for our work: there are Christian virgins who have made this sublime compact with God: (*qui ont fait avec Dieu ce pacte sublime*) "Lord, take my life, and give back a Catholic East to the Church." Listen, then, our Brothers of the East. Hear how much you are loved by the Church and by France. Do not think that the only lives that are given for you are those of our missionaries and of our Sisters of Charity. In the shadow of our monasteries, and in the bosom of our most illustrious families, there will this year be unexpected mourning for virginal existences which will suddenly come to an end. Men will be astonished at these premature and joyous deaths; they will be Victims of Peace, Victims of the Church, and of her holy Unity."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> p. 271.

If, then, in studying these papers we have reserves to make both as to historical fact, and still more as to doctrine, there is yet much to be learned from them.<sup>1</sup> The Bibliographical lists given are alone worth the cost of the volume. There is, first, the short general list on p. 26; then, from pp. 138 to 144, we have a "Bibliography of the Russian and Slav Churches"; while the classified "Eucharistical Bibliography of the East," on pp. 274-310, is especially valuable. The compiler apologizes for the sections given to the "Papers of the Eastern Church Association," and other English and American writers, on the ground that "they give information of the attempts at union of the Anglican Church with the Græco-Russian Church, and serve to bring out the firmness with which the latter has made the acceptance of the doctrine of Transubstantiation and of the Real Presence, the condition of union."<sup>2</sup> In other sections the works of English liturgists are freely mentioned. To the reference made to the works of Dr. F. G. Lee, this note is appended: "The author, Anglican Curé of All Saints', London (Lambeth), belongs to that fraction of the English Church which admits all the dogmas of the Catholic Church. He has also written a work on the Immaculate Conception."<sup>3</sup> These Bibliographies must not be taken as exhaustive. Some authorities which we consider of great importance are omitted. But there are few

<sup>1</sup> Not the least useful feature, perhaps, are the many indications that the practices of the Anglican Church are far nearer to those of the early and Eastern Churches than are the more modern practices of Rome.

<sup>2</sup> p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> p. 286.

students to whom they may not be of service, if only for directing attention to the works of opponents.

The theory of Common, Public, Prayer is sometimes said to be peculiar to the Church of England, but in the paper on the Greek Liturgy we find our "Prayer of St. Chrysostom," with a translation which may be usefully compared with the Anglican version :—

A PRAYER OF ST.  
CHRYSOSTOM.

"Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee; and dost promise, that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name thou wilt grant their requests; Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come Life everlasting."

*Pendant le chant du troisième Antiphonon, le prêtre dit tout bas cette prière:—*

"Vous qui nous avez accordé ces communes et unanimes prières, Vous qui avez promis d'accorder leurs demandes à deux ou trois qui se réuniront en votre nom, Vous, en ce moment encore, accordez les demandes de vos serviteurs selon qu'il convient; donnez-nous, dans le temps présent, la connaissance de la vérité, et en l'avenir la vie éternelle."<sup>1</sup>

In a subsequent prayer by the priest we have this remarkable expression :—"From the height of heaven cast Thine eyes on those who bow their heads before Thee; for they do not bow before the flesh and the blood, but before Thee, the God to be feared."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, with separate paging, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25. For the original Greek text cf. Robertson's *The Divine Liturgies*, etc., pp. 316-7. (D. Nutt, 1894.)



Enough has perhaps been said to show the probable importance of this Congrès Eucharistique to be held at Jerusalem. It is hoped by its promoters that it may successfully crown the long series of efforts directed by the Propaganda of Oriental Rites, by the Société de l'Orient-Latin, and by all the other organizations and missionary efforts of Rome to win over the Churches independent of her, and that, as we have said above, the union of some of the Eastern Churches may be the culmination of the latter days of the Pontificate of Leo XIII., and may mark the year of his Episcopal Jubilee. He claims already to have effected the return of the Nestorian Church to the fold of Rome. The pressure, not religious only, but political, which these Eastern Churches have to undergo from Rome, backed by the influence of France, is well detailed in the excellent *Notes of Travel by a (late) missionary Bishop* (Bishop French)—notes marked by true toleration, by a large-hearted respect for the rights of others, and a cordial acknowledgment of all that is good in the Eastern Churches. They give, too, information on recent events which should be known to all who read the *Études Préparatoires* of which we have given some account.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although frequently demanded at subsequent congresses, the full report of the proceedings of this Eucharistic Congress at Jerusalem has not yet (1902) been published. For information we are dependent on reports in various periodicals. *Les Questions Actuelles*, tome xix., nos. 4 and 7. *Échos de Notre-Dame de Jérusalem*, Sept., 1893. *Le Congrès Eucharistique de Jérusalem*, par R. P. J. M. Lambert, extract de la *Revue des Œuvres Eucharistiques*, Paris, 1893.

## II.—RHEIMS, July 25–29, 1894.

This Eucharistic Congress, held in 1894, must not be confounded with the fourteenth centenary of the Baptism of Clovis, celebrated at Rheims in 1896, of which we heard so much. Though held nearly three years ago, the report of the Congress has only just appeared (1897).

The multiplication of Church Congresses of various kinds is undoubtedly the result of adaptation to the spirit, perhaps to the needs, of the age. They are neither Councils nor Synods, but distinct and apart from both ; and the movement began first in the scientific and learned world. From the vast diffusion and specialization of science men began to feel it almost a necessity to meet from time to time in order to compare results, to learn what their fellow-students were doing, to prevent, if possible, the waste of energy caused by duplication of work, to learn in what directions research and investigation would be profitable, and towards what goals the hand of the future was beckoning. Analogous to this is the action of the Eucharistic Congresses. They are not annual. The first was held at Lille in 1879, the second at Avignon in 1882, the third at Liège in 1883, the fourth at Fribourg in 1885, the fifth at Toulouse in 1886, the sixth at Paris in 1888, the seventh at Antwerp in 1890, the eighth at Jerusalem in 1893, the ninth at Rheims in 1894. And besides these French Eucharistic Congresses others have been held in Germany, Italy, and Spain. The objects aimed at seem to be the study of the history of eucharistic

worship in the past, to report on its action in the Church at present, and to suggest measures for the furtherance and extension of that action in the future.

The Report of the Rheims Congress, which we have just received, is a bulky 8vo volume of over 1100 pages ; and it will be readily understood how impossible it is to give anything like a full summary, still less a complete survey of the whole, in a short article. We can but indicate some of the themes touched upon, with an occasional remark upon them.

The Congrès Eucharistique at Rheims, in 1894, was in some sort the complement of that of Jerusalem in 1893, to meet the needs of those who could not attend the latter. At the opening meeting the Bishop of Liège proposed that the Conference should be placed under the special protection of Ste. Julienne de Cornillon, and that each session should begin with an invocation of this faithful servant of "Jesus-Hostie." The whole Congress with one heart responded with the cry: "*Sainte Julienne, priez pour nous !*"<sup>1</sup>

The Congress was divided into three sections, the first of which was devoted to Faith and Instruction ; the second to History and Statistics ; the third to the East and the Eucharist. It was this last section which continued the work of the Congress of Jerusalem. Besides these sectional

<sup>1</sup> p. 100. Sainte Julienne, Prioress of the monastery of Mont-Cornillon, near Liège, was born in 1193, and died in 1258. Her visions gave rise to the Festival of Corpus Christi, the Fête-Dieu, established by Bull of Pope Urban IV., Sept. 8, 1264.

there were daily sacerdotal meetings of more general character.

To take the third section first. There were more than twelve papers read or printed. Several of these were appreciations of the results of the Congress of Jerusalem, and the effect which it had in promoting the great cause of the reunion of Christendom. A perusal of these reports shows a considerable divergence in the views of the writers, though all write hopefully. Some consider that union with the Russian Church is on the point of accomplishment; others, that the Russian Church is the most hostile, and will be the last of all to unite. Nearly all the writers lay great stress on the identity of the belief of the Greek and Oriental Churches with that of the Roman Church upon the dogma of Transubstantiation. There seems to be little doubt that since the seventeenth century many theologians of these Churches have used language which appears to be identical with that of Rome; but we must not forget what Suicer and the older authorities maintain, that all the terms in Greek and Oriental writings which are translated as Transubstantiation by the Church of Rome were applied equally to the water in Baptism, and to other Sacraments, and therefore cannot signify precisely and exclusively what the Roman Church means by Transubstantiation applied to the Eucharist only. One of the present-day needs in theology is a new edition of Suicer's *Thesaurus* of ecclesiastical Greek, brought up to date, with all the liturgical material collated, and other documents discovered since his time.

Besides the papers read and discussed, there was an object-lesson given on the subject of the Uniat Churches. A Maronite Mass, in Syro-Chaldaic, according to the Liturgy of St. James, was celebrated in the Church of St. Jacques.

To take another section, No. ii., "History and Statistics." In this section some dozen speakers and writers gave account of the Confraternities of the Eucharist, and of the eucharistic *culte* prior to the Revolution; also of local Processions and Pilgrimages, especially of those connected with the diocese of Rheims. Some of these historical papers are reports of eucharistic miracles of the past; *e.g.* that of Braisne, in the diocese of Soissons, in 1153, "le plus étonnant, le plus solennel, le plus incontestable de tous ceux qui rapportent les annales de l'Église,"<sup>1</sup> narrated by M. André Fossé d'Arcosse, of Soissons. M. l'Abbé Marsaux, curé-doyen de Chambly, records the miraculous cure of Angélique Imbault, at Soissons, during the Procession of the Fête-Dieu, June 2, 1768. L'Abbé Carlier de Soissons tells, too, of a "miracle eucharistique de Laon" in 1565-1566, a case of demoniacal possession in the person of Nicole Obry, from whom devils were cast out by means of exorcism and the Eucharist. The account of the exit of the thirty or more evil spirits who possessed the body of the patient is given in this fashion: "C'est à Liesse, sanctuaire de Marie, que Nicole est délivrée de vingt-six démons . . . Or, c'est à Pierrepont, près de Saint Boétien, que Nicole est délivrée d'un démon appelé *Legio*." The chief of the devils is called Béalzebuth, who, when he finds himself left

<sup>1</sup> pp. 236-7, 314.

alone in the body, calls other demons to his aid. Finally, only three remain, and on Sunday, January 27, 1566, "one of the three demons, Astaroth, leaves Nicole, and departs, bellowing, and breaking a window" (*Il s'en va en mugissant, et en brisant un carreau*). "On February 2, according to prediction, Cerberus goes out, breaking a window-pane." But it was not until February 8 that Béelezebuth departed—"not without a struggle, and making a great noise and crash like thunder" ("*grand bruit et foudre comme tonnerre*"). The paper ends thus: "This history is a certitude, and this certitude undeniable: I think that I have made this certitude pass into the soul of my hearers. May God will it so, for His glory, for that of His divine Son, Jesus Christ, really present in the Very Holy Sacrament of the Altar!"<sup>1</sup>

In connection with this point, however, perhaps the most noteworthy report is contained in the appendix, under the heading "La Sainte Eucharistie et le Franc-maçonnerie." How such statements as we find here could be made and published, in face of certain recent disclosures to which we have before referred,<sup>2</sup> is inconceivable. The report opens by fortifying a position of strong antagonism to Freemasonry by authorities. Thus Mgr. Fava, Bishop of Grenoble, is cited as declaring: "C'est un fait connu, et nous en avons des aveux; en main nous possédons les pièces probantes. On se joue en loge des hosties consacrées, renouvelant

<sup>1</sup> pp. 963-980.

<sup>2</sup> This alludes to an article, "Freemasonry and Devil-Worship," in the *Anglican Church Magazine*, Feb., 1897, and to the facts there put forward.

ainsi les scènes de la Passion où Jésus apparut patient et humble comme un agneau." Père Monsabré is brought forward to witness to "ces temples de l'occultisme où le vrai Dieu s'appelle le mal, où Lucifer est adoré sous le nom de Dieu-Bon." Mgr. Germain, Bishop of Coutances and Avranches, declares: "On dit, en effet, que l'Hôte divin de nos tabernacles est indignement livré à ses pires ennemis." Then we are told that Freemasonry "n'est pas autre chose que la religion de Satan, et c'est lui qu'elle adore sous le formule du Grand Architecte de l'Univers." The Oddfellows (or Satanistes) are introduced as celebrating "officiellement, chaque année, à dix heures du matin, le jour de notre Fête-Dieu, un service démoniaque, ou messe adonaïcide, dont la liturgie varie suivant les associations, mais dont la principale cérémonie consiste dans la profanation d'hosties consacrées." "On communie aussi," we are informed, "avec des hosties noires, fabriquées tout exprès . . . En outre, les FF. et les sœurs, vetus comme l'étaient Adam et Eve avant le péché, poignardent avec une rage délirante, et profanent de toutes manières les hosties catholiques, volées et apportées à dessein." . . . "Autant que possible, la messe du diable est célébrée avec des calices ayant servi à notre culte, et provenant soit de vols, soit de prêtres renégats." Sometimes they spit upon the Host: "parfois même, l'hostie est polluée d'une manière revoltante au moment de la *pseudo*-élévation." The women who steal these Hosts are paid, it seems, five francs a-piece. "Il y a des chambres secrètes qui en sont comme tapissées, et souvent on voit couler des

gouttes de Sang de ces Hosties." They even torture the Host, in boxes "herissées d'aiguilles, dont les pointes affleurent le Divin Corps du Redempteur . . . Les aiguilles s'enfoncent dans l'auguste Eucharistie."

We find here, too, a lengthened reference to that curious modern superstition which has been brought in to account for the longevity of Leo XIII. : "Un enfant du petit Séminaire de Paris . . . s'offrit comme victime expiatoire, et mourut durant les vacances de Pâques. Cet exemple d'oblation, n'est-il pas à suivre? Un prêtre et une religieuse ont bien, tout récemment, et à notre connaissance particulière, prié Dieu d'accepter l'offrande de leurs vies pour l'obtention de la conversion d'une sœur Maçonne des plus hauts grades."<sup>1</sup> In the report of Mgr. V. L. Péchenard we read : "The Rev. R. P. Picart was not afraid to affirm to the Sovereign Pontiff that among those who were repairing to Jerusalem were found some who had made the sacrifice of their life for the success of the intentions of His Holiness. And it was true."<sup>2</sup> All this, and much more of the same sort, it must be noted, is here set down in the official report of a congress composed of two cardinals, nine archbishops, thirty-eight bishops, two abbots, and the *élite* of the French clergy. It is painful to write of such things ; but the late challenge of Cardinal Vaughan makes it incumbent on us to study all aspects of eucharistic worship in the Church of Rome, and it

<sup>1</sup> This evidently refers to the soi-disant Diana Vaughan. Cf. L. Nemours-Godré, *Diana Vaughan et ses répondants*, p. 11, quoted below, *Legend and Folk-lore*, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> p. 353.



is not unfair to call attention to what is publicly related and reported at the Eucharistic Congresses. We gladly, however, turn now to a better side.

Some of the speakers seem to have spoken strongly of the neglect of the sacraments by men. They refer to "*chrétiens même pratiquants*" (by which we suppose is meant men who attend Mass, confess and communicate at least at Easter), who yet "communicate ten times less—what do I say? a hundred times less—than do the women."<sup>1</sup> The only speaker of the working classes confirmed this, saying that the working-man "passes his life, from the time of his first communion to his death, without regard to the Eucharist."<sup>2</sup> Other speakers tell of the frightful increase of civil funerals in Paris since 1873, when they numbered only 600, till, in 1888, they amounted to 16,000, or nearly a third of the total number of interments. So, too, of the refusal to receive the last sacraments: "What we know, and what we cannot be ignorant of, is that in a considerable part of France civil marriages, deaths without sacraments, are increasing; at the same time first communions, and even baptisms, are diminishing."<sup>3</sup> The means adopted to combat this state of things are detailed by several writers. Speaking generally, they are—

(1) Eucharistic instruction of the young; admittance to first communion at a very early age; an endeavour to follow this first communion by regular monthly communion, which may become weekly in later years. We quote a few questions from a proposed catechism for children of five or six years old: "On the Eucharist." "Is not Jesus Christ in

<sup>1</sup> pp. 435-437.

<sup>2</sup> p. 837.

<sup>3</sup> p. 546.

the Church?" "Yes, in the Holy Tabernacle." "When does Jesus Christ come into the Church?" "During the Mass." "At what moment of the Mass?" "At the moment of the Elevation."<sup>1</sup>

(2) The formation of Confraternities of the Holy Eucharist, of Associations, Congregations, Catholic clubs, etc., of which the worship of the Eucharist is the chief religious feature. The most interesting papers read in the Congress were perhaps those which treated of the action of the Eucharist in social and working men's associations. They describe, in fact, the practical religious side of what is termed Christian Socialism. The chief features of the movement are: The *culte* of the Eucharist introduced into the factory; the formation of workmen, workwomen, and children into confraternities, associations—as we should call them, guilds or societies—of the Holy Sacrament; daily Mass in a chapel to which the workmen have free access, where the Host is kept in the tabernacle, before which the members may come and worship at any time, where Communion is given not only on the Sundays, but on week-days also, not only during Mass, but apart from the Mass. These are the means urged by many speakers as the only way of bringing back the working classes to the Church. The type and model of the most successful of all such endeavours is M. Leon Harmel's factory at Val-des-Bois. The following is taken from the description of it:—

"The chapel is loved by the workmen: they are at home there, and love to come and warm themselves at the Eucharistic Sun. It is the chapel which they regret most on

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<sup>1</sup> p. 141.

leaving the establishment. Two Masses are said daily, during which the school children pray aloud. When there are many communions, the preparation and the thanksgiving afterwards are repeated in common. The first Sunday of every month Our Lord is exposed the whole day, and the members of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament succeed each other at the foot of the altar, by tens, every half-hour throughout the day. Three nocturnal adorations in the course of the year recall the pious hymns of the monasteries, and give anticipation of a vision of nightly prayer by working-men. On the day of the Fête-Dieu, Jesus goes through the factory, blessing at once both the looms which are still at work, but which seem at once to fall into silence from respect of the Master of all work, and blessing the workmen who set them in motion again after this Benediction. The first communions, where the parents come and kneel with their children at the holy table, are at Val-des-Bois festivals of heaven upon earth. The number of consecrated Hosts consumed in a year is 15,000; or, subtracting the children, an average of sixteen communions a year for each person. General communions are made at special epochs for the men, the women, the young girls, and the school-children."<sup>1</sup>

This we may say generally is the practical ideal at which many other manufacturing and industrial establishments of France are aiming. An example of Christian socialistic work at Mulhouse was given in the *A.C.M.* for February, p. 213. Another striking example is the celebrated printing and publishing establishment of Messrs. Mame, at Tours. Workmen, it is stated, are attracted to these factory chapels, and to those of the Confraternities and Catholic clubs, who are ashamed to go to the parish church. Many of the members communicate weekly; but this does not seem to be the general rule.

Among other means of advancing Eucharistic

<sup>1</sup> See also the report made by M. Harmel to the Congress of Christian Democracy at Lyons, Nov. 27, 1896. *Les Questions Actuelles*, tome xxxvi. pp. 258 and 290.

worship are the perpetual and the nocturnal adorations. The perpetual adorations are a repartition of the parishes of a diocese for the exposition and worship of the Host, each in turn, for a whole day, so as to make the worship unintermitted throughout the year. The nocturnal adoration is more recent, and is, as yet, by no means universal. It dates, for Paris, shortly after 1848, and was introduced into the South of France about 1879. Nocturnal adoration is confined to men only. The Sacrament of the Host is exposed all the night through, the worshippers succeeding each other in groups at fixed hours. Confessions are heard ; the rosary is recited ; hymns, litanies, prayers, and addresses are given, and at dawn the first Mass is said, to be followed by a second or third, to which those who have watched during the first hours of the night return to communicate. It is stated that the number of communicants in a parish is often very greatly increased by this nocturnal adoration, and that men come to confession at night who would never come at any other time. There was both daily and nocturnal adoration during the whole time of the Congress at Rheims.

Sundry minor acts of worship were recommended by the Congress with a view to advance this work, such as the "Communion reparatrice," the Apostolate of prayer, the *cultes* of the Holy Family and of the Sacred Heart, etc. ; but of these we have no room to speak now. One remark to be made is that attendance at Mass, worship of the Host, and Communion, by no means always go together in the Church of Rome. They are separate acts.

Many of the speakers, even men like Abbé Garnier and Mgr. Péchenard, insisted on the right of Communion apart from the Mass. The Abbé Garnier complained that priests do not often enough give the Communion apart from the Mass ; while Mgr. Péchenard especially regretted that priests, under pretext of the regularity of the service, will not put themselves out of the way to give Communion to those who are called off to work, or have little time.

Of two sermons preached at the Congress, and reported in the volume before us, that by the R. P. Lemius, Superior of the Chaplains of Montmartre, is an impassioned declamation for the fulfilment of a promise or prophecy made to Marguerite Marie Alacoque, June 17, 1689, that the Sacred Heart should be painted on the banner of France. The other, by Mgr. Cartuyvels, Vice-Rector of the University of Louvain, is more sober in tone. He speaks of bread having been offered in sacrifice from the beginning ; and, to prove his position, has this singular sentence : " Abel, le juste, le premier des élus, offre au Seigneur les prémices des moissons primitives." The discourse of Cardinal Langénieux is a panegyric of Pope Leo XIII. ; with an ardent plea for the establishment of clerical seminaries and of parishes in the East, and for fervent prayers for union to be offered in all churches and monastic establishments.

Such are the chief features of this Report of the Congrès Eucharistique de Reims. The description, imperfect as it necessarily is, will be read with very different feelings by different readers. It shows

some of the most, and some of the least satisfactory features of the action of the Church of Rome in the present day.

### III.—BRUSSELS, 1898.

The Eleventh Eucharistic Congress of the Church of Rome was held at Brussels, July 13-17, 1898. Belgium, as more than one of the speakers asserted, is the classical land of the Eucharist. It is the native country of Ste. Julienne de Cornillon, whose visions led to the establishment of Corpus Christi Day by Urban IV., by the Bull of September 8, 1264. Already two Eucharistic congresses had been held there, one at Liège in 1883, another at Antwerp in 1890.

The report of the proceedings of the Congress forms a handsome folio of over 800 pages, excluding the lists of the names of members. It is enriched with photographic portraits of the principal members, of the processions, and with other engravings. In examining the contents we are struck, first of all, by the immense space given to Eucharistic Adoration, by the number and variety of the associations which have this for their end. It is the importance given to this subject which is the distinguishing feature of the Congress. There are a score of papers and discourses on the "Adoration du Saint-Sacrament"; "Adoration de l'Enfance"; "Adoration Mensuelle"; "Adoration perpetuelle"; "Adoration nocturne"; "Adoration faite par les Dames"; "Adoration par Groupes sociaux ou professionnelles," and many others, besides mention, more or less detailed, in the numerous

reports on the Culte Eucharistique in different dioceses and in foreign countries. Yet some of the forms of this adoration—the Adoration perpetuelle and the Adoration nocturne—are comparatively recent. The Adoration nocturne was commenced in Paris after 1848; it was introduced into the South of France only about 1879, and is still far from being universal. We find no mention at all of adoration, in the sense of a separate Service, in liturgical works published early in the present century—certainly nothing approaching to present practice.

Contrasted with this is the small space given to anything that can be called dogmatic teaching. The general tone of the papers read and the discourses delivered is rhetorical and emotional, or simply descriptive, or anecdotal; but many of these must have been full of interest to the audience. The discourse of the Dominican Father Janvier on the Real Presence is no exception to the above remark. Thus he says: "After the consecration, directly by virtue of the words of the priest, the flesh and the blood of Jesus Christ, a living and transfigured flesh, a blood which vibrates, (*qui tremite*) fill the Host." And again: "The Father and the Holy Spirit are really and substantially present in the Eucharist."<sup>1</sup> The Abbé Lenfant of Paris takes as the refrain of his oration, "*Ecce Deus vester!* The Holy Eucharist, it is your God,"<sup>2</sup> and "The Eucharist, it is God," and finally, "The Eucharist is God."<sup>3</sup> He then adjures the Blessed Virgin in these terms; "O Christian nations, O Church of God, O Very Holy Virgin Mary, you to whom we owe the Very Holy Eucharist, since we

<sup>1</sup> pp. 230-31.<sup>2</sup> pp. 594-5.<sup>3</sup> p. 596.

owe to you the divine Body and Blood which it gives to us.”<sup>1</sup> Linked with this adoration of the Eucharist is the adoration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. “What an intimate bond,” exclaimed one speaker, “unites and even confounds the devotion to the Holy Sacrament with that of the Sacred Heart of Jesus!”<sup>2</sup> “It is not you who would separate the cult of the Sacred Heart, that is to say, of His love, from the cult of the Eucharist, which our Lord called the Sacrament of His love.”<sup>3</sup> And another speaker foreshadows the twentieth century as the age of the Sacred Heart,<sup>4</sup> just as many in the Church of Rome hail the nineteenth century as the age of Mary, with its proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception by Pius IX. in 1854, and the Apparition at Lourdes in 1858.

We observed above that some of the most interesting papers read at the Congress were the reports of Eucharistic worship in foreign missions. Some of these—the missions in India, in New Zealand, in the Congo State—have a peculiar interest for us. We have thus an opportunity of comparing the methods of these missions with our own. One feature in these reports is the stress laid on processions and banners, the spectacular and almost dramatic character given to the Services. The longest report is that of R. P. Langendreis, on the Belgian Jesuit Missions, to India especially. Up to 1875, the writers allow that little progress had been made, but since then there has been a rapid advance, particularly in Bengal. Among these missionaries we notice a large proportion of Irish nationality, both men and women. Thus there

<sup>1</sup> p. 597.<sup>2</sup> p. 552.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>4</sup> pp. 609–10.



are 31 Irish Christian Brothers, and out of 154 nuns are 100 Irish nuns of Loretto. The lay helpers are numerous, 252 catechists, 93 schoolmasters, and 284 schoolmistresses. The Archbishopric of Calcutta contains 28 churches and 220 chapels for 43,934 believers and 8,811 catechists. It is not clear whether these numbers apply only to the Jesuit Missions or to the whole Roman Catholic population. The action of these missionaries is, however, by no means confined to the heathen. In the Sunderband there were 78 conversions from Protestantism in one year, and at Chota-Nagpore in the same space of time 797 conversions from Protestantism are claimed, while the total number of baptisms is 1809, those from Protestant converts amounting to more than half of the Infant Baptisms, 797 to 1,452. The report of the Mission to New Zealand is equally interesting, but there the progress does not seem to have been so rapid. Another instructive report is that from Bulgaria. There the movement towards Rome, which promised so well in 1860, seems to have been somewhat checked since. The speaker, Mgr. Mirow, said plaintively :

“Do not think, gentlemen that it is an easy and agreeable thing to accept the Bulgarian rite. One is obliged to observe four rigorous fasts ; that is to say, for half the year to eat neither meat, nor eggs, nor fish. Fish is forbidden during Lent, which lasts fifty days, and during fifteen before the Festival of the Assumption. Such a sacrifice can be understood and accepted only by chosen souls full of devotion to God.”<sup>1</sup>

As in all gatherings where the work of any large

<sup>1</sup> p. 346.

portion of Christ's Church is fully set forth, the fact emerges that like difficulties meet the earnest worker for God everywhere; and that often in differing and opposed Churches like methods of overcoming these difficulties are practically adopted. Thus the French "*Œuvres de Mer*" was borrowed from our Deep-Sea Fisheries Mission. In other cases the action, though almost identical, may be independent, and has arisen simply from the same needs. Thus our Sunday-school teachers are paralleled by the "*Catéchistes volontaires*," and one of the resolutions passed by the Congress was:

"That everywhere, especially in large agglomerations, the work of the voluntary Catechist be encouraged or founded. That everywhere also it be under the direction of the clergy; that, where possible, it should be founded on some religious institution occupied with catechetical work."<sup>1</sup>

These voluntary catechists are commonly ladies and girls, and the religious institution mentioned is not very unlike our Church of England Sunday-school Institute. Another work which answers to our Free and Open Church Association is the "*Œuvre de la Gratuité des chaises dans les Églises pour les pauvres*." The sad results of letting out chairs in churches was dwelt on by more than one speaker, and a motion was carried for the appointment of a committee everywhere for this work of "free chairs for the poor." Other speakers advocated that on Sunday chairs should be free to the poor for two Masses at least. But this does not meet the case of the Curé whose parishioner replied to the question why he and his family did

<sup>1</sup> p. 482.

not attend Vespers, "But, M. le Curé, I have given 15c. this morning for chairs, and I cannot afford more this afternoon." <sup>1</sup>

Great attention was paid to work among children. Not only early Communion, but infantine Adoration, beginning long before the first Communion, was strenuously advocated, and anecdotes of saintly or precocious infant piety were copiously narrated in support.

Apart from Liturgical observances, religious art was not largely represented at this Congress. A paper was read on Religious Music, containing pungent criticisms of the ordinary musical Service, and advocating a return to Gregorian music. The Benedictine Father, Dom Laurent Janssens, spoke on "The Principles of Religious Art," and also on "The Rôle of Woman in the Restoration of Religious Art," directed chiefly against what Matthew Arnold would have called Philistinism in religious art; and another speaker discoursed on Eucharistic Poetry.

There were not so many reports of Eucharistic miracles as in some former congresses; but the Procession of the Very Holy Sacrament of the Miracle, observed annually from Ste. Gudule at Brussels since 1532, was performed with the utmost possible solemnity, as the closing scene of the Congress, and full photographic engravings of it are given. By a decree of January, 1898, Leo XIII. appointed St. Pascal Baylon, an Aragonese saint who died May 17, 1592, patron of all Eucharistic Congresses and Associations. Of him Father Durand said at the Congress:

<sup>1</sup> pp. 290-1.

"I particularly wish to inform you of a miracle of St. Pascal. It is this: he strikes blows on his tomb when respect is not paid to the Holy Sacrament. He does so even in other circumstances. A curious thing! When terrible events are about to take place he strikes hard blows, and when agreeable events are about to occur he gives little gentle taps.<sup>1</sup> So, when the Holy Father announced that St. Pascal Baylon should be the Patron of the Eucharistic Congress, a series of gentle blows was heard at his tomb."<sup>2</sup>

The speaker wound up by imploring the Pope to appoint "Ste. Julienne of Cornillon as second patron, and as official or secondary patrons, St. Francis, the singer of the Eucharist, and St. Michael, the defender of the rights of God against the army of the Demons."<sup>3</sup>

The tone of the Congress in this respect may be judged from the warmth with which the charge, made by a Jesuit against the Belgians, of too great addiction to popular saints, was repelled by the Assembly. Among other speakers, Don Laurent Janssens said:

"May it be permitted me to take notice of a remark which seemed unfavourable to the cult of St. Antony of Padua. Quite recently the Sovereign Pontiff has most specially recommended the devotion to St. Antony; he has shown how the cult of St. Antony is a powerful help to devotion towards the Holy Sacrament, at the same time that it furnishes the Associations of St.

<sup>1</sup> This is classed among popular superstitions, in the *Biblioteca de las Tradiciones Populares Españolas*, vol. i. pp. 90 and 247. Sevilla, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> p. 493.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Vincent de Paul with a great portion of the bread which they need for the poor."

The incident was closed by the passing of a resolution that "all devotions towards the Saints, and especially the cult rendered to St. Antony of Padua, and to the Blessed Gerard, have for their end to lead to devotion to the Very Holy Sacrament of the Altar and to our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup>

It will be understood that in these few pages only the shortest *résumé* is given of some of the most salient subjects treated of at this Eucharistic Congress.

#### IV.—LOURDES, 1899.

I have not seen the full report of this Congress, but only what was given in the local papers. The President, Cardinal Langénieux, who had presided also at the Congress of Jerusalem in 1893, in his opening speech compared these two congresses, and pleaded earnestly for the publication of the full report of that of Jerusalem, which had been delayed so long: "Vous joindrez, j'en suis sûr, Messieurs, vos instances, aux miennes pour que M. le Secrétaire général ne retarde pas longtemps cette publication." He spoke of France as the

<sup>1</sup> p. 112-3. Since then, in December, 1901, the whole of the Belgian bishops have spoken out against the lists of *recommandations* and *actions de grâces* to St. Antony inserted in religious periodicals, and have declared that they will refuse their *imprimatur* to any periodical which inserts them; they allow only the name of the person and of the place to be printed, without any further details. *Abus dans la Dévotion*, Avis d'Evêques Français & Etrangers, publiés par la Comité catholique pour la Défense du Droit. Paris, 1902. An enlarged edition of this pamphlet is announced chez Lethielleux. Paris.

adopted country of the Holy Virgin, on which she had lavished the most striking proofs of her maternal predilection. "She will be our advocate with her divine Son, and the time of our trial will be shortened. For, with Mary, a cause, how desperate soever, is never lost."

But the distinguishing feature of the Eucharistic Congress at Lourdes was the prominence given to the Sacred Heart, and especially to the Eucharistic Heart of Jesus. "The Sacred Heart," as Leo XIII. tells us, "is the new sign of salvation." "It is the Heart of Jesus that must save us: let us not forget (this point has been brought into full light by this Congress of Lourdes) it is the Heart of Jesus living in the midst of us in the tabernacle, the Heart of Jesus offering itself daily for us on the altar, the Heart of Jesus giving itself often to us in the Eucharist: in a word, the Eucharistic Heart of Jesus."

The R. P. Tesnières, speaking on the Eucharistic Heart of Jesus, said: "Jesus is the companion of all our journeys, the consoler of all our sorrows in the Eucharist; but it is because He lives, and He lives by the Heart; but it is because He is feeling, and He feels by the Heart: we do not wish for the Holy Sacrament without the Heart of Jesus. On the other hand, the Heart of Jesus must become ours, must communicate to us His love, His sentiments, His joys, His sorrows, and that can only be by the Eucharist, by His *Eucharistic Heart*. This expression may seem doubtful to some, but the Sovereign Pontiff has legalized it in fifteen Briefs, and otherwise it has been approved also by seventy-nine French bishops,

and by forty foreign bishops. This expression has therefore received a baptism, the title-deeds of which are quite authentic."

M. Canon Ribet added: "The Eucharist will disappear, for it is only a gift for the present and a security for the future; but the Heart of Jesus will be eternal."

The Congress also discussed the representations of the Sacred Heart. A Belgian priest said that the statues of our Saviour should serve only to increase devotion to our Saviour really present in the Host. He had placed in his church, against the wall above the High Altar, a large statue of the Sacred Heart, and at the foot this inscription: "Come ye all to me, who consume myself with love for you upon this altar." In many churches, said this Belgian priest, are seen statues of the Sacred Heart surrounded with light, while the Holy Sacrament is wrapped in darkness, and distinguished with difficulty by the feeble light of a small lamp. "In mine, on the contrary, all the tapers lighted in honour of the Sacred Heart burn before the Holy Sacrament."

It was inevitable that at Lourdes much should be said about the apparitions and cult of the Blessed Virgin in France, at the close of this century, which has been called the century of Mary. Several speakers alluded to the miraculous Medal of 1830, to the apparitions of La Salette, Pontmain, Pellevoisin, to the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception at Rome in 1854, at Lourdes in 1858. The Dominican Father Olivier, among others, spoke of the connection between

Mary and the Eucharist : " Jesus on Calvary sacrificed Himself on two altars, on the Cross, and in the heart of Mary ; but it is ever the flesh of Mary which is sacrificed and suffers, since Jesus is born of Mary : *Natum ex Maria Virgine.*" The Bishop of Liège asks P. Tesnières to speak. He explained the union which exists between Mary and Jesus residing in the Eucharist (*residant dans l'Eucharistie*). He concluded with engaging the Congress to invoke the Virgin under the name of our Lady of the Holy Sacrament.

Dr. Boissarie, the medical historian of Lourdes, told of a change in the miraculous cures operated. "The miracles and cures wrought with the water of the piscine have been replaced little by little by cures wrought at the passage of the Holy Sacrament." M. Lagardère, a priest of the Adoration, had first the idea in 1898 of making acclamations at Lourdes on the passage of the Holy Sacrament. Mgr. Doutreleux asserted that : " From the day on which the Procession of the Fête-Dieu became almost a daily fact at Lourdes, the most startling cures were produced at the passage of the Holy Sacrament."

Subsequent Eucharistic Congresses have been held at Paray-le-Monial in 1900, at Angers in 1901, at Namur in 1902. But the dogmatic teaching of these congresses is authoritatively summed up in the Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII., *Miræ caritatis*, De Sanctissima Eucharistia, dated April 5, 1902.

In the opening paragraph Leo XIII. speaks of the later acts of his life. " Among these are two



of more recent date closely allied the one with the other, the memory of which brings timely fruits of consolation, in the midst of so many causes of sorrow that overwhelm Us. The first is that We judged it very useful to consecrate by a special solemnity the whole of the human race to the Sacred Heart of Christ the Redeemer ; the second is that We have very earnestly exhorted all who profess the Christian Faith to bind themselves to Him, Who, whether for the individual or for society, is divinely *the Way, the Truth, and the Life.*"

Then, in speaking of the Holy Eucharist : "We have confirmed with Our lawful approbation, and enriched with privileges many institutions and associations consecrated to the perpetual adoration of the divine Host ; We have arranged that Eucharistic Congresses should be held with suitable solemnity and profit ; We have assigned to this work and to others similar, as heavenly Patron, Pascal Baylon, who professed to a remarkable degree devotion to the Eucharistic mystery."

In his definition of transubstantiation, and of the Eucharist considered as a continuation and an extension of the Incarnation, since by it the substance of the Incarnate Word is united to each man, he writes :

"This miracle, which is the greatest of all in its kind, is accompanied with innumerable miracles ; here, all the laws of nature are suspended ; the entire substance of the bread and wine is changed into the Body and Blood of Christ ; but the species of bread and wine, without any underlying substance (*nulla re subjecta*), is preserved by divine

virtue ; the Body of Christ is found at the same time in as many places as the Sacrament is celebrated. Moreover, to increase the submission of human reason to this so great mystery, miracles come, so to say, to its help, for the glory of the Eucharist ; they are recorded in history, or live in memory, and in more than one place there exist public and remarkable monuments of them."

Again, of the advances made of late years in Eucharistic Adoration :

" This is why the works already existing ought to be developed day by day, or to be restored to life where they have perished ; for example, Eucharistic Confraternities, supplications addressed to the Holy Sacrament exposed, solemn processions in its honour, pious genuflexions before the divine tabernacle, and other holy and salutary practices of the same kind, moreover, all things must be undertaken which prudence and piety suggest for the purpose."

We see by this that the ritual and practices of the Church of Rome are not definitely fixed. There is still advance going on. " In his tamen acquiescere, Venerabiles Fratres, neque Nobis licet neque vobis ; etenim multo plura vel provehenda restant vel suscipienda." " Yet neither We nor you, Venerable Brothers, can stay here ; for many more things remain to be carried forward or to be undertaken." Everything points to some fuller acknowledgment of the Presence of the Blessed Virgin in the Eucharist ; and of a closer association of the cult of the Sacred Heart on an equality with that of the Holy Eucharist.

## XVI

### THE LATIN-AMERICAN COUNCIL AT ROME IN 1899<sup>1</sup>

EVER since the publication of his Encyclical in July, 1892, on the fourth centenary of the discovery of America by Columbus, it had been the wish of Pope Leo XIII. to convoke a Council of the Archbishops and Bishops of Latin America. But there were difficulties in the way, both political and also as to the place where the Council could most conveniently be held. Latin America covers such a vast extent of territory, the conditions of travel and of communication between different parts are so varied and so difficult, that it was found to be easier for the bishops to meet in Europe than in any point of the Western Hemisphere. When once it was decided that Europe should be the place of meeting, there could be hardly any doubt that Rome would be the most convenient spot. All bishops are bound to a visit *ad limina*; every see has some business of appeal or consultations of the congregations and authorities at Rome which can be expedited or more

<sup>1</sup> *Acta et Decreta Concilii plenarii Americæ Latinæ in Urbe celebrati Anno Domini MDCCCXCIX.*—*Appendix ad*, etc. 2 vols. 8vo. (Romæ, Typis Vaticanis, 1900.)

favourably settled by the presence of the bishops there. Rome, too, as regards the distant realms, is now a neutral non-political ground ; there is no fear of Leo XIII. seeking to re-establish monarchy in any of the eighteen republics, or to favour any intervention from without, so that we cannot feel surprised at the voluntary choice of Rome by the American bishops as the place of meeting of their Council, or at the joyful acquiescence of Leo XIII. in their decision. Rome can give a prestige and authority to a Council which no other place can give, and through the Council, *mutatis mutandis*, Leo XIII. speaks to the whole world.

"There is not, as far as we are aware," says M. l'Abbé Boudinhon, "in the whole history of the Church, a single example of a Council held outside of the territory of the bishops assembled, and this is an additional proof in favour of the pontifical authority."<sup>1</sup>

The Acts and Decrees of the Council have thus an authority which they would hardly have had if it had been held elsewhere. They give us an authentic declaration of what the doctrine and practice of the Roman Church are at the end of the nineteenth century. The very form and arrangement of these two volumes show that they are meant to do this.<sup>2</sup> Volume I. consists of an

<sup>1</sup> *Le Concile plénier de l'Amérique Latine*, a series of articles in *Le Canoniste Contemporain* from November 1901 to March 1902, p. 642, 1901. (P. Lethielleux, Paris.)

<sup>2</sup> "Without doubt it was not (as in 1870) an œcumenical Council. This reunion of fifty-three bishops, representing the Episcopate of Latin America, has had nevertheless a very great significance, whether with regard to the number of Bishops

introduction in 116 pages, giving a description of the Council, its preliminaries, its hall of meeting, its arrangements, a *résumé* of each session, and the closing scenes. The following 450 pages contain the Acts and Decrees of the Council on all the subjects brought before it; and these include nearly everything connected with the doctrine and practice of the Church, and with its relations to the State and to the civic and social life of the people.<sup>1</sup> The Appendix volume of 779 pages contains the corroborating official documents, *i. e.* the Bulls, Encyclicals, Briefs, and letters of the Popes, and the Decrees of the Roman Congregations referred to, and on which the provisions promulgated in the *Acta et Decreta* are founded. These documents are arranged chronologically, not according to subject-matter. At first sight this appears to be most inconvenient, as the separate pieces relating to any one subject are scattered throughout the volume, and are difficult to find. On the other hand, this chronological order permits us to see at once how very recent is a large part of the binding legislation of the Church of Rome, and to trace exactly the intro-

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present, or with regard to the subjects treated of and of the results obtained." "It is one of the events of this year which most deserves the attention of every reflecting mind." M. Ch. Egremont, *L'Année de l'Eglise*, 1899, pp. 39 and 44. (V. Lecoffre, Paris.)

<sup>1</sup> "Canonists will there find information of the greatest interest, and even certain important innovations, chiefly decisions of common law, where it had remained uncertain and disputed." "The decrees of the Council are divided into sixteen titles, and they touch on nearly the whole of ecclesiastical legislation." Boudinhon, *op. cit.*, p. 643.

duction of novelties. An appeal to the Council of Trent as a final and definitive declaration of Roman Catholic doctrine is on many subjects quite precluded. The earliest document refers to the Council of Lyons, 1245, the next is dated 1467, followed by one of 1670. There are only fourteen documents in all before 1838; the subsequent 121, which fill more than 600 pages, belong, with the exception of three, to the latter half of the nineteenth century, and many are of very recent date—1898, 1899. Thus we have the very latest statement and codification of the dogmas, practices, and legislation of the Latin Church.

In the very first acts of the Council we observe the advance made. The Council met on Trinity Sunday, May 28, and closed July 9, 1899. The Form of Oath, or Profession of Faith,<sup>1</sup> made jointly and severally by the whole assembly, was that prescribed by Pius IX., January 20, 1877. Its penultimate sentence runs thus :

“Also all other things handed down, defined, and declared by the Sacred Canons and Œcumenical Councils, and especially by the Sacred Council of Trent, and by the Œcumenical Vatican Council, particularly of the Primacy and infallible Magistracy of the Roman Pontiff, I undoubtedly believe and profess. . . . This true Catholic Faith, outside of which no one can be saved, I N. engage, vow, and swear to hold and confess. So help me God, and this Holy Gospel.”

But a greater novelty was introduced in the third and fifth sessions. It has been frequently

<sup>1</sup> *Forma Juramenti, seu Professionis Fidei. Acta*, p. xlix. Cf. Appendix xl. p. 330.

stated of late in current publications of the Roman Catholic Church that the nineteenth century has been especially the age of Mary. It has seen the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the dedication of the month of May to the special worship of the Blessed Virgin, and that of October to the Rosary. It has seen the alleged apparition of Lourdes, and the almost universal resumption of pilgrimages in her honour ; it has read the long series of Encyclicals of Leo XIII. Nothing more seemed possible to be done ; nearly all forms of worship and exaltation are exhausted. But it has also been freely said that the twentieth century will be the century of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, for which some recent acts of Leo XIII. have prepared the way by consecrating the whole of humanity to the Sacred Heart.

In the third and fifth sessions of the Council, May 31 and June 3, it was decreed that the Council should be consecrated to the Heart of Jesus, and to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This was done in a solemn session, June 11, by the Archbishop of Quito, and the formula was repeated by the whole Council "with such fervour of heart and voice that it called forth tears of sweetest devotion and most tender trust from the eyes of many" ;<sup>1</sup> and the consecration was repeated at the close of the Council. This consecration of a Council and of the whole of humanity to the Sacred Heart means something more than the mere adoption of a new form of devotion ; it is the introduction of a new dogma.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta*, p. lxii.

The decree of the consecration of the Council speaks of "the most auspicious and most divine sign offered to our eyes to-day by our most holy Lord Pope Leo XIII.—that is to say, the most Sacred Heart of Jesus surmounted by a cross shining with brightest splendour amid flames."<sup>1</sup> In the Acts and Decrees under Titulus I., cap. vi., "Of the worship to be shown to God and the Saints," three degrees of worship are described: that of "the true adoration of *Latria*, taught us by the law of Nature to be offered to God alone as the supreme Creator"; this same cult of *Latria* is to be shown to the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, and "with the same cult of *Latria* we adore the Heart of Jesus—the heart, namely, of the person of the Word."<sup>2</sup> To the Blessed Virgin Mary is due the veneration of *hyperdulia*, and "Christian people are accustomed, with signal piety and with confident mind, to implore her most chaste husband, Joseph."<sup>3</sup> The cult of *dulia* only is to be offered to all other saints, to their relics, and to their images.

Many of our readers will know what discussions took place in the early ages of the Church on the exact wording of the Doxology, how jealously every change or addition was guarded against. For centuries it has been the same, yet on the last

<sup>1</sup> "Ad illum nimirum solemniori ratione a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa Decimo Tertio, hodie, nostris oblatum oculis, auspicatissimum divinissimumque signum, videlicet Cor Jesu Sacratissimum, superimposita cruce, splendidissimo candore inter flammæ elucens," p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Eodem latriæ cultu adoramus Cor Jesu, cor nempe personæ Verbi," p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> p. 28 (45).



day of the Council, "the day of the Prodigies of the Blessed Virgin Mary," the bishops sang :

"Glory therefore to the Father, Glory to the Son, Glory to the Holy Ghost, Glory to the most Sacred Heart of Jesus, perennial praise to the Blessed Mary Virgin Immaculate, who is the temple and shrine of the Most Holy Trinity, for all the benefits granted to our Latin America."

"Thanks to Thee, O God, thanks to Thee, true and only Trinity, only and highest Deity, Holy and only Unity."

"Praise be to the divine Heart by which salvation was acquired for us : to it be glory and honour for ever."

"To the most blessed Virgin Mary, preserved from original stain, to the most loving, most powerful Patroness of our Latin America, perennial praise, everlasting veneration."<sup>1</sup>

Surely the history and result of the introduction of the *Filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed, without the sanction of a General Council, should show the danger of making such an addition to the special worship which is declared to be due to God alone, especially when the symbol of such worship is scarcely more than two centuries old, even in the Latin Church.

Let us now examine what the Council teaches or decrees on some of the most important or interesting points of the Christian Faith. Unhappily, through peculiarities of arrangement and consequent repetition and overlapping, it is no easy task to sum up the decisions of the Council under each special head. We can only do our best in this respect.

In the first chapter, "On the Profession of Faith," besides its positive statements the Council repro-

<sup>1</sup> Pp. xcvi, xcix. The action of thanks in which these and similar words occur has since an indulgence of seven years attached to it by Brief of Pope Leo, April 3, 1900.

bates all errors condemned by the General Councils, especially by the Vatican Council, and more especially those named in the Encyclical letter of Pius, *Quanta cura*, with the annexed syllabus, as well as those condemned in the Encyclicals of Leo XIII., *On Christian Marriage*; *On Political Power*; *On the Freemasons*; *On the Christian Constitution of States*; *On Human Liberty*; *On the Principal Duties of Christian Citizens*; *On the Condition of Working Men*. To those outside the Roman Catholic Church who have read these Encyclicals, however admirable may be the general intention and tenor of them, it is very startling that men should be called on to admit or reject all that is asserted or censured in these letters on the most difficult and debatable points of Christian ethics, politics, economics, and sociology, and that they, as the next paragraph goes on to say, should be required to defend them at the hazard of their lives. It is very hard to believe that Leo XIII. has said the final words on each and all these subjects. We are told more than once that though faith is above reason, yet there can never be any real opposition between reason and faith; and that in treating of subjects defined or proved by the Church, reason ought not to go before faith but to follow it, not to rule but to serve. And that therefore it is not possible that at any time in following the progress of science a sense can be attributed to dogmas proposed by the Church different from that which the Church has understood and understands.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Fieri igitur non potest, ut dogmatibus ab Ecclesia

In like manner, as to the relations between Church and State, the Church is compared to the soul and the State to the body. The Church alone can define the limits within which it may exercise its rights. The Roman Pontiff is above all Canon law. He can dispense with the law itself, and therefore they err who say that the exercise of the Apostolic power is regulated by the canons.<sup>1</sup> There can be no appeal to a future Council. The necessity, justice, and inviolability of the temporal power is affirmed by the Council.

On the Sacraments it is laid down that the unworthiness of the minister does not make the Sacrament void, provided that all things essential to the Sacraments are rightly performed. Very great prudence is to be used in refusing the Sacraments.

*Baptism.*—In case of necessity not only a priest or any of the clergy, but even a layman, man or woman, believer or unbeliever, can baptize,<sup>2</sup> provided only that the legitimate matter and form are used, and that he intends to do what the Church does. This is repeated in the case of midwives baptizing, and in some peculiar cases baptism by

propositis, aliquando secundum progressum scientiæ sensus tribuendus sit alius ab eo, quem intellexit et intelligit Ecclesia" (25). The paragraphs are numbered throughout, and the reference in the notes is to them.

<sup>1</sup> "Romanus Pontifex qui secundum plenitudinem suæ potestatis est supra jus canonicum, potest supra ipsum jus dispensare; ideoque errarunt qui dixerunt Apostolicæ potestatis usum moderandum per canones" (64).

<sup>2</sup> "Non modo sacerdos vel quilibet clericus, sed etiam laicus, sive vir sive femina, sive fidelis sive infidelis sit, baptizare potest," etc. (485).

them is to be preferred. Only one sponsor is required at baptism, and not more than two are to be allowed; they are to be chosen by the parent, or by the Parish Priest. No cleric or monk can be sponsor. No heretic can be sponsor; it is better to have no sponsor at all than a heretic. The custom of offering baptized children to the most Holy Mary, Mother of God, is very highly commended. The practice of churching women, where it has been disused, should be restored.

*Confirmation.*—The bishop is the ordinary, but a simple priest, by commission of the Supreme Pontiff, may be the extraordinary minister of confirmation. The same rule applies to confirmation as to baptism for sponsors, only the same person cannot be sponsor in both sacraments, and one only is required in confirmation, a man for a boy, a woman for a girl. Another name may be given in confirmation. Confirmation is to be given before first communion. Before the first communion a renewal of the baptismal promises and solemn consecration to the most holy Immaculate Virgin are advised.

*The Eucharist.*—The material used is wheaten bread, and wine of the vine, to which, before consecration, a very small quantity of water<sup>1</sup> should be mixed. By virtue of the words themselves is made transubstantiation, by which the whole substance of the bread and the whole substance of the wine are converted into the Body and into the Blood of Christ, so, however, that the

<sup>1</sup> "Cui ante consecrationem aqua modicissima admisceri debet" (521).

whole Christ is contained under the species of bread, and the whole under the species of wine; also the whole Christ is under any portion whatsoever of the consecrated Host and of the consecrated wine when division is made. "Since in the sacred Eucharist there should be held to be a means of sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> it is firmly to be believed that in the Mass is offered to God a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and for the dead." "For the Victim (*hostia*) is one and the same, the same (person), now offering by the ministry of priests, who offered Himself then on the Cross, only the manner of offering being now different." The order of the Lateran Council under Innocent III. (1215) as to annual reception is repeated, but a more frequent reception is urged; no certain rule can be prescribed whether it be expedient every month, week, or day; confessors must see in each particular case whether this be permitted or forbidden. At first communion the children are to be consecrated to the most Holy Virgin Immaculate from the beginning,<sup>2</sup> and are to be exhorted to pray every day for the protection of so great a Mother. No Mass is offered to the saints; but only in their honour and memory, giving thanks to God for their victory, and imploring their patronage to intercede for us in heaven. The Sacrament is to be reserved in all parochial and semi-parochial

<sup>1</sup> "Cum vero in SS. Eucharistia habeatur etiam ratio sacrificii, firmiter credendum est," etc. "Una enim eademque est hostia, idem, nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui seipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa" (535).

<sup>2</sup> "SSmæ Virgini ab origine Immaculatæ, opportuna prece, solemniter consecrent" (529).

churches, and in all monasteries and convents, but only at one altar: in other chapels and oratories only by special licence. The wafer must not be more than twenty days old, and five Hosts at least are to be kept in reservation, and to be renewed every week. A priest may celebrate only one Mass in a day, except on Christmas Day, and on All Souls' Day, when he may celebrate three. For the celebration of the Mass one-third of an hour is sufficient, and it should not exceed half-an-hour before the people. There should be two candles and one servitor. No woman is allowed to serve the altar, she may only make the responses outside the chancel. In the chapter "On the Building of Churches" is a sentence which seems to imply that the ancient custom of celebration with face to the people is still kept up occasionally in South America, and is allowed by the Council.<sup>1</sup>

*Penance.*—All are to confess at least once a year, and as often as they fall into any mortal sin. All confessors are required to know the vernacular tongue of the country, or of those whose confessions they receive. Confessions are to be heard only in the Church, in an open place. In case of sickness or necessity confessions may be heard in private houses; if of women, the door of the room is always to be left open. Non-Catholics of doubtful baptism, coming to the Church, are to be baptized under condition, and, after previous confession of the sins of their past life, they may be absolved under condition.

<sup>1</sup> "Nisi pro dispositione Ecclesiæ, a sacerdote versa ad populum facie Missæ sacrum in altari majori fieri solet" (876).

*Extreme Unction* is to be given not only in extremity, but even to old people not yet ill. It is a grievous sin to defer it until senses and life are failing ; but extreme unction may be administered to those in a state of insensibility or delirious if they have expressed a wish for it before. The Viaticum may be repeated in lengthened illness. Medical men greatly err in not informing the dying of their condition.

*Orders* are major and minor. There is a divinely constituted hierarchy, bishops, priests, and ministers. All are to pass at least six months in a seminary. Dispensation from this is to be most rare, and only in urgent and extraordinary cases. Parish priests are exhorted to search out vocations especially among the poor, and to train and instruct such children. A title is required for Ordination.

*Marriage* is a Sacrament indissoluble and perpetual. Any other union, even made by power of civil law, is nothing else than a shameful and fatal concubinage, and the offspring are illegitimate before God and the Church.<sup>1</sup> The Church has always reproved mixed marriages. All children must be brought up Catholics. The warning of the *Rituale* as to engaged people not being together alone before marriage is repeated in more stringent terms.<sup>2</sup> Banns are to be published three times,

<sup>1</sup> "Atque idcirco quælibet alia inter Christianos viri et mulieris, præter Sacramentum, conjunctio, etiam civilis legis vi facta, nihil aliud est nisi turpis et exitialis concubinatus . . . et prolem ex civili conjunctione procreatam illegitimam esse coram Deo et Ecclesia" (588).

<sup>2</sup> "Nupturientes, ante celebrationem Matrimonii, non cohabitent, sed nunquam simul maneant, nisi præsentibus et videntibus propriis genitoribus vel aliis, qui eos a pravis semitis deterreant" (593).

and the marriage is to be celebrated within two months of the last proclamation. Confession is not to be delayed until the day of marriage.

These strong assertions of the indissoluble character of marriage are practically qualified and partially annulled by the proceedings on nullity of marriage, especially in cases of technical clandestinity, laid down in a later chapter, Tit. XV., cap. ii. : "De modo procedendi in causis matrimonialibus." Marriages are annulled by the Roman congregations on grounds for which divorce would certainly not be granted in civil courts. It is this, among other difficulties, which renders marriage between persons of different nationalities so hazardous in Roman Catholic countries.

As to Ritual, nothing is to be omitted or changed in the Missal, the Ceremonial, or in the Pontifical; for this the authority of the Roman Pontiff is required; no new rite can be introduced, no rubric altered, on account of popular devotion. The decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites have the same authority as if they came from the Supreme Pontiff, although no report on them has been made to his Holiness.<sup>1</sup> Bishops and Masters of the Ceremonies are bound to have recourse to them in all cases of doubt. Parish priests, preachers, and catechists should explain the meaning of the rites to the people. The ceremonies of the *Rituale Romanum* are to be used everywhere, and are to be introduced where not yet observed; thus only the

<sup>1</sup> "Decreta a S. Rituum Congregatione emanata et responsiones quæcumque ab ipsa propositis dubiis scripto formaliter editæ, eandem habent auctoritatem, ac si immediate ab ipso Summo Pontifice promanaverint, quamvis nulla facta fuerit de iisdem relatio Sanctitati Suæ" (432).



Benedictions conformable to the Roman Ritual and its appendix are lawful. The choir should consist of clerks only, robed in surplice, but pious laymen may be admitted, women and nuns only by special permission. In Gregorian chants the editions approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites are alone to be used ; so with the Graduale. Singing in the vulgar tongue is prohibited at Mass. Liturgical music is to be cultivated in all seminaries. Cremation is forbidden. The tombs of clergy and of laity are to be apart, and baptized infants are to have a special place in cemeteries. The coffin of an unmarried boy or girl is not to be covered with a white pall in sign of virginity, lest it be thought that they do not need the prayers of the Church for the dead.<sup>1</sup> Prayer before and after meals is highly recommended ; all parish and other priests are to endeavour to institute the custom by word and by example.

Several forms of cult are mentioned, but no complete list is given of those lawful. The cults of the most Holy Sacrament and of the most Sacred Heart of Jesus have each a chapter. All the faithful are to visit and adore as frequently as possible our most loving Lord and Saviour in the Eucharist. Fraternities of the most Holy Sacrament are to be instituted or restored in all parishes, and in towns there should be perpetual daily

<sup>1</sup> "Feretrum, in quo reconditur corpus puellæ aut pueri innuptorum, panno ex lana vel ex serico albo, in signum virginitatis, cooperiendum non est . . . fascia nigri coloris, non tamen in modum crucis, superponatur panno albo ; ita tamen, ut in quatuor lateribus appareat, quo fideles agnoscant defunctum egere suffragiis, et Ecclesiæ precibus etiam proprias adjungant" (472).

adoration at least. Those are to be anathematized who deny that the external cult of *latria* is to be given to the most Holy Sacrament in processions, or in popular worship, or that the Eucharist should not be reserved or carried to the sick. In the Processions of Corpus Christi Day the Apostolic prescriptions must be carefully observed. The prayer of Forty Hours is recommended with permission of the bishops.

The festival of the most Sacred Heart of Jesus is to be kept with all solemnity. The month of the Sacred Heart is to be promoted by all means, and the first Friday in every month is to be devoted to it. Images of the Sacred Heart outside the person of our Lord are to be exposed for public veneration ; but images of the Heart alone are permitted for private devotion only. The devotion of the Sacred Heart is joined to that of the Apostolate of Prayer.

In the most salutary worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, everything that savours of novelty or that is extraordinary, whether in invocations or emblems, is to be carefully avoided, and in this matter the bishops should be most vigilant, and should act with prudent severity. The faithful also should know that the cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Eucharist is not more perfect than the cult of the Eucharist itself, nor different from the cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “In saluberrimo cultu SS. Cordis Jesu, sedulo vigiletur, sive in invocationibus sive in emblematicis, quidquid novitatem sapit, vel insolitum videtur : et hac in re Ordinarii vigilantissimi sint et prudenti severitate procedant. Sciant quoque fideles, cultum erga SS. Cor Jesu in Eucharistia, non esse perfectiorem cultu erga ipsam Eucharistiam, neque alium a cultu SS. Cor Jesu” (378).

The chapter on the cult of the Blessed Virgin opens thus: "Seeking grace, let us seek it through Mary."<sup>1</sup> The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is strongly insisted on. Her cult is to be promoted in every way by festivals, by triduum, by neuvaines, by keeping the month of May, by associations, by the daily recitation of the Rosary, by the wearing of the Scapulary of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Carmel. The Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist are especially enjoined on all festivals of Mary.<sup>2</sup> The month of October is to be kept (in honour of the Rosary) according to the Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII. The cult of

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This decree of the Council was made June 21, 1899. But on February 20 of the same year a Brief of Leo XIII. had granted indulgences of 200 days to the recitation of prayers in honour of the Eucharistic Heart. The prayers mentioned in the Brief are: "nempe precem Cordi Eucharistico Jesu, quæ gallice incipit per hæc verba: *Cœur Eucharistique de Jésus, doux compagnon de notre exil*; Consecrationem Cordi Eucharistico Jesu, scilicet; *Jésus, Maître adorable*; Orationem Jaculatoriam, *Cœur eucharistique de Jésus, qui brûlez d'amour pour nous*; tandem emendationem honorificam eidem Eucharistico Sacro Cordi Jesu: *Cœur Eucharistique de mon Dieu*, quoties id egerint contrito saltem corde, toties iis in forma Ecclesiæ consueta de pœnalia dierum numero ducentos expungimus."

Under date April 4, 1900, by decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, we have the concession of the Scapulary of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and on the same date a like concession of the Scapulary of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and of Mary; and July 10, 1900, a Brief of concession of indulgences to the Scapulary of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; March 18, 1901, a like concession to the Scapulary of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and of Mary. Feb. 26, 1901, a Little Office (*i.e.* a Special Service) of the Sacred Heart of Jesus received the approbation of the Pope, and was decreed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. These decrees show how rapidly a popular devotion advances in the Church of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> "Quærentes gratiam, per Mariam quæramus" (380).

<sup>2</sup> "In omnibus solemnitatibus marianis" (382).

St. Joseph and the month of March in his honour are to be carefully observed, and during that month a prayer to St. Joseph is to be added to the daily Rosary. The cult of the Sacred Heart of Joseph is forbidden, but that of the most Holy Heart of Mary is allowed, though not specially provided for. The worship of St. Michael is recommended. Care is to be taken that Saints' Days are not made days of revelling and amusement only. Nothing is said of the cult of St. Antony of Padua, which has been so popular in Roman Catholic countries of late years. Nothing new is said of indulgences; but careful rules are given for the materials of scapularies, and the mode of wearing them.

The chapters on seminaries and clerical life are specially interesting. All parish priests and confessors are to encourage clerical vocations. There are to be two seminaries in each diocese, one for boys and younger students, the other for older students. In philosophy and theology the footsteps of St. Thomas are to be followed. Priests are to be examined yearly in theology for five years after their ordination. In the rules for clerical piety the clergy are to be ever mindful of the Heart of Jesus, and to flee for protection to the Virgin Mother, who is the mother of fair love and especially of the clergy, unceasingly to implore her help, and to have her most sweet and powerful name ever in their heart and mouth, and by word and example diligently to insinuate into the minds of all piety towards the most blessed Mother of God.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "In Deiparæ Virginis, quæ Mater est pulchræ dilectionis et Clericorum præsertim, tutelam confugiant, ejus opem implorare nunquam cessent, dulcissimum potentissimumque

Half-an-hour is to be given daily to mental prayer; the Divine Sacrifice is to be celebrated daily, and to be frequently visited and adored. Retreats are to be held three times a year, and one day of spiritual recollection every month. Theological and liturgical lectures and conferences are to be established, and where the clergy cannot attend these they are to give answers in writing to papers set by the bishops. Sick and aged clergy are to be lovingly tended, from funds collected in each diocese for that purpose. Parish priests are to be ever ready to dispense the Sacraments, and to hear confessions at the hours most convenient for the people. They are frequently to visit the sick, even when not sent for, and to administer the Sacraments to them even at the risk of death to themselves; they are also to care for the indigent and the old, and are to beware of indulging in inordinate love of their own relatives. It is chiefly in the things forbidden that the personal rules of the Roman Catholic clergy, as laid down in this Council, differ from our own rules. They are to abstain from frequent association with women, even of those who are respected for their piety and modesty. No cleric must presume to teach girls or women, even those of good birth, to read, to write, to sing, or anything of that kind, without the licence of the bishop, under penalties to be appointed by the bishop; and warning is given that it is all over with the authority of a parish priest, of whom it is

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*nomen in corde atque in ore semper habeant, et verbo atque exemplo in omnium animos pietatem erga Beatissimam Dei Matrem assidue insinuare contendant*" (658).

whispered that he is dependent on the imperious will of a woman.<sup>1</sup>

There is little distinctive about the rules for preachers. They are to conform to the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars which is given in the Appendix. They are especially to preach on the (four) last things ; and in seasons of religious exercises and sacred missions careful consideration is to be given to the pains of hell. Missionaries and other preachers, without any respect to man, in their spiritual meditations and mission exercises, should take care to have a special sermon on the existence, the eternity, and the bitterness of the pains of hell.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen at once how different this injunction is from much that has been written of late years on this subject by Roman Catholics in English periodicals.

In catechizing the Roman Catechism for parish priests is to be used, and for children "that golden book," the *Doctrina Christiana* of Cardinal Bellarmine. Other catechisms have been too much multiplied, and within five years one catechism only must be compiled for use in each Republic, or ecclesiastical province of South America. So, too, the multiplication of Prayer-books, many of which are very unsuitable and depart from the rule of praying proposed by the Church, is greatly to be

<sup>1</sup> "Actum est de auctoritate parochi, quem fideles a mulieris imperiosa voluntate pendere autumnant" (646).

<sup>2</sup> "Volumus igitur ut missionarii alique concionatores, postposito omni humano respectu, in spiritualibus recollectionibus et sacrarum missionum exercitationibus specialem concionem habere curent de existentia, æternitate et acerbitate, pœnarum inferni, adhibitis Sacræ Scripturæ verbis, Sanctorum Patrum sententiis et ratione Theologica" (705).

deplored.<sup>1</sup> Neglect of catechizing, at least on Sundays and the greater festivals, is sufficient ground for deprivation of a parish priest. Sunday-schools are to be encouraged and the assistance of pious and instructed laity is to be sought therein.

In matters of education it is declared that every parent has by nature the right of educating his children religiously, and no parent can for any cause be released from that law. Mixed and neutral schools are condemned. It is rightly stated that most of the Universities in the Middle Ages were founded by the Church, and were subject to its jurisdiction, and hence follows, not unreasonably, the claim of the Church to grant degrees in theology and Canon law. Wealthy laity are strenuously exhorted to found colleges and secondary schools for the study of the classics, of mathematics, natural science, and commerce. In these schools nothing is to be taught contrary to the legitimate liberty of the Church, and the whole instruction is to be in conformity with the Catholic faith. The pupils of these secondary schools are, as far as possible, daily to attend Mass, to receive frequently the Sacraments of Penance and of the Eucharist, to join at stated times in religious exercises, and to be enrolled in some pious association. This higher education is also to be extended to girls under Catholic mistresses or nuns; but it is utterly forbidden to Catholic girls to attend high schools where they would be mixed with non-Catholics, and still less where the sexes would

<sup>1</sup> "At sæpius inter eos nonnulli circumferuntur, qui, a scriptoribus imperitis concinnati, longuis abeunt a vera et salutari orandi norma, quam Ecclesia proponit" (717 et 716).

be mingled. It is greatly to be desired that each American Republic should have its own University.

A great deal is said about books and reading and literature in different chapters, which it is not easy to combine and to co-ordinate. The chief sections are Tit. II., cap. ii., "Of Bad Books and Newspapers," and Tit. X., cap. vi., "Of Catholic Books and of Approved Reading." The latter chapter treats of the duty of disseminating good books and pure literature of agreeable reading. Those who have the ability are urged to write and publish such works. Libraries and cheap bookshops are to be established in every parish, and reading and literary societies are to be formed under sanction of the bishops. The clergy are instructed to write in Catholic newspapers in defence of religion and of the Church, and in opposition to error. The bishops are to endeavour to have one journal for this purpose in their chief city. Catholic writers may be of greatest service to the Church. They are not to oppose Faith to Reason, nor to confuse, nor to separate politics and religion, but to follow the teaching of the Encyclicals of Leo XIII. The censure and approbation of books relating to religion belongs to the bishops.

On the other hand, under the subject of the errors of the age and of bad books, we have a long list of things and subjects to be avoided. The worst and most dangerous class of books are those which have the appearance of religion and of philanthropy, but without right opinions. Then we have described a long list of *isms* to be avoided—atheism, materialism, pantheism, rationalism,



naturalism, positivism, liberalism, indifferentism, and, lastly, protestantism. It is matter of observation that medical students and students of natural science are most liable to these errors. "From Protestantism are derived all the politico-social errors which perturb States," such as Communism, Socialism, Nihilism, and Anarchism.<sup>1</sup> In some of these things the Church may partly yield to the times, but it is the business of the Supreme Head of the Church, not of private judgment, to determine this. The monuments of former ages attest that the Catholic Church has been always either the originator, or the patron, or the guardian, of all those things which tend to the well-being of States, and to say that the Church rejects all improvements, or is jealous of recent State institutions, and repudiates them promiscuously, is an empty and jejune calumny.

The reading of all bad books is forbidden, and it is not lawful to peruse or to possess those which the Church has forbidden, even if no danger follows to the possessor. Bad books and mendacious and calumnious newspapers are the worst of evils to the Church. All vernacular versions of the Bible, not approved by the Church, especially those of the Bible Societies, are interdicted. No one is allowed to print or publish liturgical books, or books of prayers or devotion, without lawful authority. Books on spiritism and cognate superstitions, and those which justify duelling, suicide, or divorce, are

<sup>1</sup> "Ex Protestantismo derivati sunt omnes errores politico-sociales, qui civitates perturbant. . . . Ex illa hæresi ortum duxit . . . ad *Communismum*, ad *Socialismum*, ad *Nihilismum*, civilis hominum societatis teterrima portenta et pene funera. Quod pari ratione de *Anarchismo* intelligendum est" (110).

forbidden. Spiritists are to be considered and treated as heretics, and not to be admitted to the Sacraments without previous abjuration (164). It is impossible to include all bad books in the *Index*, but those inserted are prohibited in any language. Of all bad books, those written in the guise of fiction (hispanice *Novelas*, lusitanice *Romances*, gallice *Romans*) and plays are the most dangerous ; and parish priests, preachers, and confessors are to use their utmost endeavours to preserve the faithful from this deadly infection. Public discussion with heretics is discouraged, unless under special circumstances.

Then follows the condemnation of secret and unlawful societies, specially of Freemasons. The Encyclicals of Pius IX. and of Leo XIII. against the Freemasons are highly praised. The faithful are bound under penalty of excommunication to denounce the leaders. Freemasons are to be refused absolution ; they cannot be sponsors at Baptism or Confirmation ; they may not assist at Mass, nor receive Christian marriage, and are to be refused Church burial.

As was to be expected from the well-known sentiments of Leo XIII., there are many expressions of sympathy with the lot of the working-man. Not only justice but charity is required at the hands of the employers, and wages sufficient for the support of the workers and their families are insisted on. As a protection against socialism, the institution of Catholic working-men's clubs, under the patronage of the bishop, is warmly recommended.

Usury is denounced in general terms, but interest in railway shares, or from other works of public

utility, or from the public funds, may be accepted with a safe conscience. In other cases the decrees of the Holy See and the works of approved authors are to be consulted. Mortgages, obligations, and annuities are allowed as investments of Church movable property; little to be approved of in themselves, they are permitted on account of the necessities of the times. Speaking generally, the rules for the management and preservation of Church property, the regulation of ecclesiastical tariffs and fees for Church offices, and all other business matters, are admirable. But the paragraph denouncing the traffic in Masses perhaps shows that the danger of the practice still exists.

All that relates to the working of the hierarchy of the Church, and its various degrees, and their due subordination, is very practical. Rural deans are to report to the bishop every January on the state of the clergy of their deanery; cathedral chapters are to be held every month; diocesan synods are to assemble biennially or triennially; provincial synods should be annual, but in the peculiar circumstances and difficulties of Latin America they may be held every twelve years; missionary clergy are also bound to hold the different synods as far as possible. All the regular clergy are under the jurisdiction and authority of the bishops, and cannot do anything without their licence. The bishop is aided by capitular vicars, by vicars-general, and by examining chaplains. He is also to appoint four or two consultors, or assessors, every three years to assist him in all difficult matters in place of the chapter. The Abbé Boudinhon remarks on this, "that if we

consider the precarious situation of the Chapters in some countries, the institution of this Council of the bishop seems to indicate the organization which will supplant them." He is the trustee of all the Church property in his diocese. Above the bishops are the Metropolitans, who summon and preside at the provincial synods and the meetings of the Bishops. The visit to Rome *ad limina* must be made by all bishops and apostolic vicars every ten years, to pay homage to the Roman Pontiff and to give an account of their work. The bishops are bound to show all faith, obedience, and subjection to the Pope, and to render religious obedience to the decrees of the sacred congregations at Rome put forth in the name of the Pope. The vow of religious obedience in the religious orders is made in itself first and principally to the Roman Pontiff, next to the Roman congregations, then to the generals and heads of their Order, lastly to the bishops.<sup>1</sup> We wonder how the bishops can possibly get through all the spiritual work and all the ecclesiastical and administrative and social business laid upon them in these sections.

We omit much. These are only some of the chief topics dealt with in these two volumes containing the papal utterances and Roman decisions, and the Acts and Decrees founded on them, of the last Plenary Council held at Rome. If we sum up the general impression left by them, it is (1) the great advance made in peculiarly Roman doctrines since the Council of Trent, and especially the

<sup>1</sup> "Votum obedientiæ per se primo et principaliter fit Romano Pontifici, a quo pendet omnis potestas Religiosarum Familiarum, et Institutorum seu Congregationum ecclesiasticarum. Item." etc. (331.)

additions made in the last half of the present century—first by the promulgation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, of the Infallibility of the Pope in 1870, the dedication of certain months of the year to special forms of devotion, and lastly the recent and sudden elevation of the cult of the Sacred Heart to a level with that which is said to be due to God alone, and to the Holy Eucharist, the cult of *latria*. (2) The centralization of all authority directly in the hands of the Pope, the strengthening of what is called the Curia, and the greater weight given to the decrees of the Roman Congregations. Gallicanism and all kindred movements are crushed and extinct within the Church. All orders of the clergy, whether secular or regular, have to give account of themselves to Rome; no doctrine, no act of ritual, no practice of devotion, is to be observed, admitted, or allowed to continue in the Church, which is not expressly authorized by the Pope or by the Roman congregations; and to the Pope alone belongs the definition and limitation of the rights of the Church in relation to the family, to society, to the State, and to the civil power. Yet, with all this centralization, never was there a greater multiplication of new saints, new cults, of indulgences attached to material objects, of forms of popular devotion, of so-called pious beliefs and practices, at variance with what is truly Catholic.

## XVII

### LEGEND AND FOLK-LORE, CREDULITY AND INCREDULITY, IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

WE are far too apt to think of legend and folk-lore, of the credulity engendered by love, or hate, or fear, which believes in, nay, gives existence to facts and beings which have it not—we are far too apt to think of such things as the product of past ages only. We fancy that they belong to mediæval times, to the dark ages, that they cannot be revived, still less that they can flourish in the days of the steam-engine, of electricity, in the full light of the natural and experimental sciences, of the scientific methods and researches of the present day.

But it is only by an abuse of the scientific method that such a thesis can be maintained. This belief in the immunity of the present age from folk-lore and legend arises from a too hasty generalization, and from a neglect of a whole series of facts, as real, as important in their sphere as any other class of historical facts, as pregnant, perhaps, in results in the religious and political history of mankind as any other facts and occurrences of the age. It is true that they belong to the obscure, the unforeseen, the unexpected. They cannot be

made the subject of experiment, of quantitative analysis. We cannot weigh or measure them; we cannot tell how or when they may happen or recur, nor what may give rise to them; but they influence the lives, they employ the thoughts, they mould the conduct of a minority indeed, but still of a considerable number of mankind. All agree that folk-lore and legend, credulity and incredulity, bulk largely in the history of the past; and the best way really to understand their origin and action in the past is to study their origin, or their revival, and their action in the present. As a help towards this we bring together a few examples which have almost accidentally fallen under our notice.

These facts were unforeseen. There were indeed symptoms of a reaction against the scepticism and the incredulity of the eighteenth century early in the nineteenth. Chateaubriand in France, Sir Walter Scott in England, the romantic school in Germany, were all, consciously or unconsciously, working in this direction. Still the revival of belief in its old-world forms was not foreseen; the facts that occasioned it arose at unexpected times and in unexpected places. Thoughtful religious writers, like Eugénie de Guérin, could speak in 1837 of pilgrimages as things of the past that could not be revived.<sup>1</sup> Clever, intellectual, sceptical women like Mrs. Cunningham Graham, after a special study of some of these phenomena, could still write in 1894: "All these visions of an apocalyptic nightmare were to Teresa fraught with the

<sup>1</sup> *Eugénie de Guérin, Journal et fragments*, par. C. S. Trébutien, p. 135, 18th edition. (Paris, 1866.)

vividness of reality, and entered into her life *as they can never more enter into the life of the world.*"<sup>1</sup> "None before her, none after her, has dared to transform psychological phænomena—phænomena as nebulous as they are inscrutable—into concrete tangible realities."<sup>2</sup> Again, speaking of a grand religious procession: "The days of such processions are gone."<sup>3</sup> We almost smile as we read these words in their naïve and complacent assumption. Again, "The Carmelites have faded into night—have become an anachronism."<sup>4</sup> "There will be no more Saints."<sup>5</sup> There have been more saints—in this technical sense—and more canonizations of saints in the nineteenth than in any previous century. Generalizations like these of Mrs. Cunninghamhame Graham, and the spirit of them—common as they are—are as much opposed to true science as is the superstition which they condemn.

Phenomena parallel to these hagiographical ones may be observed equally in the scientific or pseudo-scientific world—in incredulity as well as in credulity. In theosophy, so called, in spiritism in its varied forms, in the revival of the so-called occult sciences, in christian-science-healing, in all these and similar practices we meet with like phenomena. We shall not examine any of these; we mention them here only lest our readers should imagine that legend and folk-lore, credulity and superstition are found only among orthodox folk.

<sup>1</sup> *Santa Teresa, being some account of her Life and Times, etc.*, by G. Cunninghamhame Graham. 2 vols. (A. and C. Black, 1894. Vol. i. 93.)

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. 415.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii. 443.



The history of Roman Catholicism in the latter half of the nineteenth century, or say from 1830, is marked by the increased development, almost the exaggeration, of all those doctrines and practices which separate Rome from the other Churches of Christendom. It is just those dogmas which the eighteenth century thought it had abolished for ever that have been most vehemently asserted since. The nineteenth century has seen the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, that of the Infallibility of the Pope in 1870. The nineteenth century has been called the Age of Mary, from the great number of miraculous appearances of the Blessed Virgin which are said to have taken place in it, from the countless pilgrimages to places of devotion to her, from the miraculous cures alleged to be effected at her shrines, from the dedication of the month of May to her, of October to the Rosary, and the long series of Encyclicals of Leo XIII. in her honour. Not one of these things could have been foreseen at the beginning of the century.

Along with them we have what Mrs. Cunningham Graham calls "psychological phænomena transformed into concrete and tangible realities." In the centre of Paris, in a chapel of the Rue du Bac, on November 27, 1830, Catherine Labouré received the command of the Virgin to make the miraculous medal, which has since been struck by millions. In February 1858, at Lourdes, then one of the quietest and most sleepy towns in France, the Blessed Virgin appeared to the peasant child, Bernadette Soubirous, and again the psychological phenomenon has produced concrete and lasting effects. To both the

miraculous medal, and to Nôtre Dame de Lourdes, festivals and offices are assigned in the Breviary; the pilgrims to Nôtre Dame de Lourdes are numbered by myriads; the bare hillside and the banks of the Gave are covered with churches, hospitals, and conventual buildings; finally, a fac-simile of the grotto has been erected in the gardens of the Vatican in 1902, by command of Pope Leo XIII. This seems almost like a new, but inverted version of the lines of Horace:

“Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes  
Intulit agresti Latio.”

Epist. lib. ii. i. 156-7.

Again, in 1866-7, Philomena de Ste. Colombe, in the monastery of Vals in Catalonia, saw the vision of a new Trinity: “Jesus, Mary the Immaculate, and the Archangel St. Michael,” with the concrete symbol of a “starry triangle.”<sup>1</sup> These are examples only of several like phenomena. The evidence depends in each case on a single witness; except in the case of Bernadette Soubirous, at whose later apparitions many were present, but saw nothing. Yet the belief is the conviction of millions.

Contemporaneously with this class of facts the latter half of the nineteenth century has seen the revival and rise and fall of what may be called many minor worships in the Church of Rome. For some few years St. Joseph seemed to be the most popular saint; then almost of a sudden he was comparatively neglected, and the popular affection was transferred to St. Antony of Padua. The worship of this saint had not only been an object of ridicule, but had in its most popular form

<sup>1</sup> See above, *A Modern Saint*, pp. 187-8.

been stigmatized as superstitious in authorized catechisms of the Church.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, statues and alms boxes in his honour were erected in nearly every church; the religious newspapers, especially those of the Assumptionist Fathers, and of *La Bonne Presse*, opened their columns freely to requests for miracles wrought through him; he is the accredited finder of all things lost, the hope of all candidates for examinations; he supplanted the use of the divining rod in searching for water; there was scarcely any conjuncture of life in which he could not and did not help. Any derogation from his honour was severely censured in the eleventh Eucharistic Congress, held at Brussels in 1898;<sup>2</sup> indulgences almost innumerable were assigned to his worship.<sup>3</sup> At length the excess to which these things were carried, and the commercial speculations which arose out of them, startled even the bishops who had but lately promoted and lauded his worship; and in Belgium the bishops have forbidden the details of requests and narratives of wonders performed and miracles granted to be printed with their *imprimatur*.<sup>4</sup> But the cult continued in the churches.

<sup>1</sup> "In the first five editions of this work we had placed among the number of superstitious practices the custom which certain persons have of praying to St. Antony of Padua to recover things lost or stolen." *Explication . . . du Catéchisme*, par l'Abbé Ambroise Guillois, vol. ii. p. 90. 4 vols. (Paris, 1870.)

<sup>2</sup> *XI<sup>e</sup> Congrès Eucharistique Internationale*, pp. 112-13. (Bruxelles, 1899.)

<sup>3</sup> *La Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xxxiv. p. 158, May 15, 1894. (Madrid.)

<sup>4</sup> *Abus dans la Devotion. Avis des Evêques et Étrangers*, publiés par le Comité Catholique pour la défense du Droit. (Paris, 1902.) An enlarged edition is announced.

It is not only with regard to objects of love and devotion that this spirit of credulity has been shown. There has been a similar, and in some respects a more startling revival of terror towards beings hated and feared. Examples of a credulity, unsurpassed by that of the Middle Ages, cluster chiefly round the Freemasons and Oddfellows—societies regarded by many Roman Catholics much as the Jesuits are by some ultra-Protestants. Nothing is too absurd, no statement too false, no legend too extravagant to be believed of them. Pious, worthy men, priests, monks, nuns, bishops—report whispers even higher dignitaries—lately underwent a kind of fascination of terror, which took away for the time all power of weighing evidence, of calm judgment and even common sense. In the year 1886 there was circulated in many of the religious and diocesan periodicals of France a story of the appearance and personal presidency of the devil at a meeting of Freemasons in the city of Lyons. The story was supposed to be attested by Mgr. de Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, by Mgr. Jourdan de la Passadière, an auxiliary bishop, and by Father Jandel, head of the Dominicans. Confirmatory accounts of similar experiences, especially at Rome, quickly appeared. It was only on May 2, 1893, that the celebrated Dominican preacher, Father J. M. Monsabré, gave a denial to the Lyons story as far as Father Jandel was concerned in it. But there had already appeared on December 8, 1892, two letters of Pope Leo XIII. on Freemasonry, addressed, the one to the Italian archbishops and bishops, the other to the Italian people. These letters of the Pope suggested to two Parisian

journalists of the baser kind, Dr. Hacks-Bataille, and M. Gabriel Jogand, who wrote under the pseudonym of Leo Taxil, the idea of making money out of the credulity of the religious and clerical world. We have related elsewhere the story of the imposture.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing in any tale of witchcraft, sorcery, or demonology of the dark ages to surpass the monstrosities and absurdities believed, attested, and guaranteed by men and women, bishops, monks, and ecclesiastics of all ranks in the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

Nor are these the only practices of the folk-lore of the Middle Ages revived and practised by modern saints. Charms or prescriptions written on paper, then swallowed, or applied to the part diseased, are a favourite means of cure in early mediæval medicine and folk-lore.<sup>2</sup> The same means are still used for miraculous cures.<sup>3</sup> That the old belief in drawing lots is still extant is shown by a story connected with the late Pope, Pius IX. The scene is in the Trastevere, in Santa Maria in Capella, a night refuge; the time, November 1888. One of the Sisters was suffering from acute peritonitis, and was in a hopeless condition. Her fellow Sisters resolved to begin a *triduum* to procure her recovery; but, through what saint? Each wrote a name on a square piece of paper; the name of Pius IX. was then added, and all the pieces put into a bag, which was then shaken; three times

<sup>1</sup> See above, the Eucharistic Congresses, pp. 290-292.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Marcelli de Medicamentis Liber*, edidit Georgius Helmreich, p. 69, *et passim*. (Lipsiæ, Teubner, 1889.)

<sup>3</sup> See above, *A Modern Saint*, p. 198.

in succession the name of Pius IX. came out first. The *triduum* was made in his honour, and ended at noon of November 11, 1888. At one o'clock the patient was cured, and went to return thanks in the chapel.<sup>1</sup> Such stories could be multiplied almost indefinitely by drawing upon the biographies of recent saints awaiting canonization. They are found in the annals of religious newspapers, in the printed requests to and answers of the saints patronized by such papers.

Common also are narratives which contain legends, as it were, in embryo, only half believed by those who write them down, but almost certain to be believed as facts by some of those who read them. Of this class is the following :—

“In October 1894 there died at the Refuge at Anglet, near Bayonne, the blind and aged mother of Mgr. Fleury-Hottot, late bishop of the diocese. On his death-bed the bishop had confided his mother to the care of his friend, Mgr. Chambourdon, who accepted and faithfully fulfilled the charge. He was present at her death-bed. The last scene was thus described in a local journal: ‘And when the supreme moment had arrived, a son was there in the person of Mgr. Chambourdon to aid the dying lady in her last agony, whilst the Sisters, kneeling round the bed, were reciting with voices broken with sobs the prayers for the dying. During this time the shade of Mgr. Fleury-Hottot seemed to hover over this touching scene, and to

<sup>1</sup> “Lettre de Rome.” Rome, December 24, 1888, in the *Bulletin du Diocèse de Bayonne*. The account is said to be taken from the *Giorno* of Florence, November 20. See also “The Future Canonization of Pius IX.” in the *Foreign Church Chronicle*, vol. xiii. no. 51, p. 131, September 2, 1889.

invite the soul of his mother to take its flight heavenwards. Yielding to this appeal, the soul, with a last effort, disengaged itself from the bonds which retained it in its mortal envelope. Then Mgr. Chambourdon, taking it, so to say, in his hands, presented it to his invisible friend, with the words: "Five years ago you confided to me this sacred deposit. I restore it to you to-day enriched by the numerous merits which this soul has earned by five years of incessant prayers, and by sufferings supported with admirable resignation."'"

How easily the words "semblait planer," "seemed to hover," "pour ainsi dire," "so to say," might drop out of this story, and the whole become a legend, whilst purporting to record the fact of a death-bed apparition, resting on contemporaneous evidence.

Another class of legend appears in the nursery and folk-lore tales, and in the patriotic legends of almost every nation, and of almost every religion. These tell of the perennial power of deeds of self-sacrifice to attract when carried to the uttermost. Typical instances of such tales in beast folk-lore are the story of the dog of Bethgelert; in patriotic folk-lore, the legends of Codrus, of Quintus Curtius, of Godiva, and of William Tell; in hagiography, that which has been called "The Golden Legend": the young, pure, unselfish life offering itself to redeem the old, the impure, and the selfish, or simply to give itself in its ardour of self-devotion for any just or holy cause. An early Christian form of this legend appears in the stories of St. Sylvester and the conversion of Constantine in the

Breviary.<sup>1</sup> The same theme appears in mediæval form in *Der Arme Heinrich* of Hartmann von Aue.<sup>2</sup> It can be read in English in Longfellow's *Golden Legend*. But the same story of life given or offered for life, whether true or not in fact I cannot say, is told again and again in almost equally touching guise in our own day; and, as of old, it is the saintly child and the pure and innocent maiden who make this sacrifice of life.

In a sermon preached at Orléans, February 10, 1893, preparatory to the Pilgrimage and Eucharistic Congress to be held in Jerusalem in that year, the Rev. Father Edmond, of the Assumptionist Fathers of Paris, made this statement:

"Permit me to tell you in discreet confidence a fact that will explain to you the invincible energy of my hopes. I know with certainty that in different parts of France, in the world as well as in the cloister, there are lives sacrificed, voluntarily immolated for our cause; there are christian virgins, who have made this sublime covenant with God: 'Lord, take my life, and restore to the Church a Catholic East.'"

"Hear then, O Eastern brothers! Hear, how you are loved by the Church, and by France. Do not think that the only lives given for you are those of our Missionaries, and of our Sisters of Charity. In the shades of our monasteries, at the

<sup>1</sup> In a fuller form in the treatise *De laude et Inventione Sanctæ Crucis*, by Berengosus, Abbot of St. Maximus of Trèves (circa 1112), lib. ii., cap. 3, lib. iii., cap. 4, 5. Migne's *Patrologia*, tomus clx., cols. 955, 969 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Arme Heinrich*, von Hartmann von Aue, in the *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* herausgegeben von Hermann Paul, Halle; and *Deutsch Classiker des Mittelalters*. Fünfter Band, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1891.



hearths of our most noble families, there will be unexpected mourning this year, virginal existences will suddenly pass away. There will be surprise at these sudden and joyful deaths. They will be peaceful victims offered for you. Victims of the Church, and of Holy Unity!"<sup>1</sup>

Again, at the Congress of Jerusalem :

"In the whole Catholic universe the supplication has been uninterrupted, in many a place heroic acts have been accomplished, of which God alone has the secret, but some of them, nevertheless, are known. Thus the learned P. Tondini de Quarenghi declared in a full meeting of the Congress, that to his knowledge alone, six pious persons had offered to God the sacrifice of their life for the success of the Eucharistic Congress, and that already four of these sacrifices had been accepted by God."<sup>2</sup>

It seems almost a parody or travesty of this to read: "Do you remember the story of the monk who offered his life for the conversion of (the wholly imaginary) Diana Vaughan, and whose sacrifice was accepted? I knew this monk, he was really a saintly man, of pure and good heart, of upright and candid soul. I have not heard the story of his last moments from any eye-witness. Nevertheless, it is possible that he was so touched by the story of this daughter of 'Lucifer,' that he may have offered his life for this lost sheep. What I do know well is, that the writer whom I mentioned above made the most of this touching anecdote,

<sup>1</sup> *Études Préparatoires au Pèlerinage Eucharistique en Terre Sainte et à Jerusalem en Avril et Mai 1893*, pp. 271-2. (Paris, *La Bonne Presse*, 1893.)

<sup>2</sup> *Echos de Notre Dame de France à Jerusalem*, No. 6, September, 1893, p. 193, col. 1. (*La Bonne Presse*, Paris.)

and that it met with success in certain newspapers." <sup>1</sup>

Noteworthy are instances of a like belief connected with the life of Pope Leo XIII. The first is taken from *La Semaine de Bayonne*, May 24, 1899. It may be also read in Spanish in *La Ciudad de Dios*. Like the former narratives, it seems to come originally from the Assumptionist Fathers.

"Under the title, 'Child died for the Pope,' *La Croix* publishes this curious narrative from a correspondent, to whom we leave the responsibility.

"Rome, May 13, 1899.

"When the newspapers announced that the Pope was about to undergo a serious operation which placed his life in danger, a boy of thirteen years old, belonging to a well-to-do family at Genoa, wished to offer his life to God for the health of the Sovereign Pontiff. He opened his heart to his confessor, who, knowing the purity of his soul, after due reflection, told him that in making this promise it might really happen that God would take him at his word; and asked him if he were ready to make the sacrifice of his life. 'That is just what I wish,' replied the child, 'to give my life to preserve the life of the Pope.' On this assurance his confessor gave him the desired permission, and after thus having offered himself, the child returned to his parents. That evening he fell ill, and two days afterwards he died, with a smile upon his lips, having learnt from the newspapers that the operation had completely succeeded, and that all danger had disappeared.

"The fact was related to the Sovereign Pontiff, who caused enquiry to be made, and assured

<sup>1</sup> L. Nemours-Godré, *Diana Vaughan et ses répondants*, p. 11, Oudin, Paris. See also, for this and the following instance, *The Eucharistic Congress at Rheims*, p. 292 above.

himself of the reality of the offering and of the acceptance of it by our Lord."

Again, in the *Bulletin du Diocèse de Bayonne*, January 7, 1900, we read :

"*Touching Audience.*—On the fourth of last December the Pope received a group of young girls from Aquila, who had obtained the favour of this audience under very pathetic circumstances. In the course of a retreat which had been lately preached to them, these young girls had entered into an agreement each one of them to offer in sacrifice a year of their life to God, in order to prolong by so much the life of Leo XIII., and thus to permit him, if God should accept the exchange, to attain a hundred years. The Pope saw in this a touching act of truly filial tenderness, and, in spite of the numerous occupations of these days (of Jubilee), he desired to receive them in special audience. One can imagine what a fatherly welcome he gave them, and how these young girls, by this favour, have been abundantly rewarded for the sacrifice, which they leave to the will of God."

Later, Mgr. Jauffret, Bishop of Bayonne, in a letter dated Rome, Juin 4, 1900, writes: "It is commonly reported that lives have been accepted by God in order to prolong the existence of a Pope so necessary to the Church."

I have no means of ascertaining whether these are facts or not—whether a child at Genoa or at Paris did really die thus, whether those who offered themselves for the success of the Eucharistic Congress at Jerusalem, or for the conversion of the imaginary Diana Vaughan, or the young girls who did the same for Leo XIII., really shortened their

lives, or whether these things exist only in the imagination of the narrators. But this belief is framed in the same spirit, with the same conviction, as that of many of the oldest folk-lore tales and hagiographical legends. It has its origin in the never-ceasing perennial attraction of enthusiastic self-sacrifice carried to the uttermost, still unconsciously reproducing and re-creating itself in the nineteenth century. It is a force perhaps too much neglected, too little appealed to by the Church of England. Even the Salvation Army has its week of self-denial. At the same time we must remark that, with this passion of devotion and self-sacrifice, there co-exists a passion of hatred and bigotry, which compels men, pious and educated, to believe anything and everything that is said of their opponents without the slightest regard to evidence; and even such belief is counted meritorious.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing more monstrous in folk-lore and legend than what was believed and asserted by the Assumptionist Fathers of Paris about the Freemasons, the English and American Oddfellows, and about Diana Vaughan. Similar facts in so-called spiritism, theosophy, and the occult sciences seem to show that the true way to account for the origin of folk-lore and legend in the past is to study them in the present; that a legend is contemporaneous with the events which it describes is no sufficient guarantee of its truth.

<sup>1</sup> I know only by reviews, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's *Les Doctrines de Haine* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1902), but apparently it fully bears out what I have said above from other sources.

# INDEX

- ACROSTICS, 56-60  
 Advance of Roman doctrines, 197,  
 241, 249, 252, 310, 337  
 Agnosticism and Christianity, 153-  
 155  
 Antony, St., of Padua, 304, 328, 342  
 Appointment of clergy, 8 263  
 Asceticism among Jesuits, 106, 107  
 — extremes of, 181-186, 190,  
 193 *n.*  
 Athanasius and Theodore, 11, 32,  
 35  
 Avila, St. J. de., and Jesuits, 106 *n.*  
 Baptism, lay and heretical, valid, 319  
 — conditional, 322  
 Basques, religious people, 263  
 — Loyola and Xavier, 104 *n.*,  
 109  
 — appointment of clergy, 263 *n.*  
 Baylon, St. F., patron Eucharistic  
 congresses, 304  
 Believers already in heaven, 75  
 Benedictines, Cluny, in Spain, 81,  
 95, 160  
 — at Silos, 253  
 Benefices, value of, in Spain, 256  
 Bible, versions of, 333  
 Bishops, appointment or election of,  
 87, 167, 263 *n.*  
 — Divine right and jurisdiction,  
 88, 110  
 — assessors of, 335  
 — at French Revolution, 199, 200  
 — resignation of Sees, 201, 202  
 — rights and duties, 89, 90  
 — usurpation of, by Pope, 96  
 Breviary, changes in, 14, 85  
 — not all "of faith," 34  
 Brotherhood in Christ, 225, 229,  
 232  
 Brotherhoods and guilds, 123, 228  
 Bulls, papal, in Spain, 169  
 Burial service, 64, 75  
 Burnet, G., Bp., and Molinos, 149  
 Burriel, S. J., iv, 160, 173, 174 *n.*  
 Canon law, Pope above, 319  
 — impossible to codify, 263 *n.*  
 Canonization by bishops, 89  
 — in nineteenth century, 177,  
 178, 183, 198, 340  
 Catechizing and catechists, 102,  
 293, 302  
 Cathedral dignities in Spain, 257  
 Catholicism, modern Roman, 99,  
 100  
 Celebration with face to people, 322  
 Charles III., character of, 174 *n.*  
 Christianity and Individualism, 218  
 Church power to change rites, etc.,  
 109  
 — national, in Spain, 161, 165,  
 172, 175  
 Cid, a ballad of, 161  
 Cismontanism in Spain, 162, 163  
 Clergy at French Revolution, 199,  
 205  
 — as citizens, 91  
 — celibacy of, 92  
 — concubinage among, 96  
 — engaged in trade, 92  
 Cloistered Orders at French Revolu-  
 tion, 199  
 — beginnings of, in Spain, 93  
 Communion, evening, in Maronites,  
 280  
 — apart from Mass, 296, 297  
 Concordat, French, of 1801, 201,  
 205, 206, 212, 214  
 — French, of 1817, 213  
 — Spanish, 1737, 1753, 1851, 254  
 Confirmation, 320  
 Congresses, Anglican and Roman,  
 276, 286  
 Convents in St. Teresa's time, 121,  
 128  
 Copying of MSS. in monasteries,  
 45, 49  
 Corpus Christi day, 287 *n.*, 298  
 Councils, national, convoked by  
 kings, 87, 163  
 — provincial, by metropolitans,  
 89, 336  
 — diocesan, by bishops, 89, 335  
 — Seville, in 1478, 163  
 — Trent, 99, 100, 109-111, 254-  
 256, 314

- Councils Latin-American, extra-territorial, 312  
 Cross, sign of, 55  
 Cup to laity, refusal of, 109  
 Customs, pious, originated in Spain, 94
- Death-bed scene, 346  
 Decree of S.C.R. on St. James the Greater, 17, 31  
 — of Roman Congregations, value of, 324  
 Devastation of Gaul in fifth century, 46  
 Discipline, practice and making of a, 190, 192  
 Dogs, watch, of the Gallo-Romans, 43, 44  
 Drakes' attempt on Corunna, 21, 28, 31, 32  
 Duchesne, Mgr., on St. James the Greater, 16, 17, 33 *n.*, 35 *n.*
- e* for *i* in Latin inscriptions, 65, 70  
 Election of clergy by parishioners, 263 *n.*  
 — of bishops, 87, 263 *n.*  
*Émigrés*, charity of English to, 214  
 Epitaphs, Early Christian, in Spain, 69  
 — — in Gaul, 71  
 — — in Rome, 72  
 — — later, 73, 74  
*Études Préparatoires* for Congress, 278  
 Eucharist, the Blessed Virgin in, 108, 308  
 — adoration of, 296, 298, 310, 325  
 — — in factories, 294  
 — — infantine, 298, 303  
 — confraternities of, 294, 325  
 — cup in, 109, 110  
 — Encyclical on, 308  
 — development of, 310, 325  
 Examinations, competitive, 253  
 — approved by Councils and Popes, 254  
 — for Canons and Chapter, 257  
 — methods of, 254, 256, 259  
 Exorcisms, 289, 290
- Fasting, effects of excessive, 195  
 Fatherhood of God, 225  
 Ferrar Nicholas and Valdés, 142, 144, 149  
 Fire, origin of, 53
- Fita, R. P. F., S. J., iv.  
 Freemasons, enormities of, 248 *n.*, 290, 344  
 — Devil, president of, 291, 344  
 — condemned, 334  
 French Revolution and clergy, 199  
 Funerals, civil, in Paris, 293  
 — white at, 325
- Gallicanism under the Restoration, 220, 221, 239, 249, 250  
 — defeat of, 222  
 — and Hispanism, 158  
 Gaul, devastation of, 45, 46  
 — Goths in, 51, 52  
 — education in, 50
- Graham, Mrs. Cunninghame, 119, 123, 127, 177, 339, 341
- Heart, the Sacred, 297, 306, 325, 326 *n.*  
 — and Eucharist, 300, 306, 307  
 — consecration to, 315  
 — in twentieth century, 300, 315  
 — in Doxology, 317  
 — *latria*, due to, 316, 337  
 — symbol of, 316  
 — scapularies of, 327 *n.*
- Hell, preaching on, 111, 330  
 Herbert, G., and Valdés, 142, 144, 149  
 Holiness, different types of, 116, 118, 136  
 Hospitals, outcry against, 245  
 Hosts stolen and profaned, 290, 291  
 — Presence in, how long, 210, 322  
 — reservation, 280, 281, 322
- Hymns, Mediæval, 38, 57, 157  
 — of Gregory Nanzianzen, 154  
 — of St. Teresa, 130, 133, 134
- Indulgences granted by bishops, 89  
 Infallibility, rise of, 220, 223, 225, 242, 314  
 Infinite, idea of, 136 *n.*  
 Inquisition introduced from France, 96  
 Irreligion of French working-man, 293
- James, St., the Greater in Breviary, 14, 34  
 — discovery of sarcophagus in 1879, 28, 31

- James, St., Papal decrees on, 11, 35  
 — Tillemont and Gam's theory, 15, 25, 27  
 Jansenists and Jansenism, 115, 171, 174, 175, 207, 211  
 Jesuits and their teaching, iv, 106  
 — Augustinian opinion of, 114, 115  
 — horror of, v, 239  
 Joseph, St., J.M.J., 178, 197, 342  
 Kings, best, opposed to Papal power, 95, 96  
 — no appeal from, 163  
 — representatives of Church, 163  
 Lamennais, Gallicanism, the Pope, 219-222, 239-241  
 Legend founded on metaphor, 19  
 — value of, 352  
 Leo XIII., Pope, and *Petite Église*, 211  
 — and Christian Democracy, 223, 224  
 — Encyclicals and Briefs, 11, 35, 309, 318, 332, 341  
 — Lives given for, 292, 348  
 — Union with East, 277, 285  
 Letters of Jesuits, 105  
 — St. Teresa, 131, 132  
 Lightfoot, Bp., quoted, 82 n., 155  
 Liturgy of dead, 64  
 — a Spanish, 82, 83  
 — Mozarabic, 79  
 Loyola, genealogy of, 104 n.  
 — directions on ritual, 107  
 — early ideas of, 106  
 Marriage, civil, condemned, 323  
 Martin, St., invoked as Muse, 40, 41, 45  
 Masdeu, S.J., opinions on, 79, 80  
 Mass not offered to Saints, 321  
 Megalithic remains in Galicia, 23  
 Menendez y Pelayo, iv, 15, 79, 141 n., 143 n., 150, 172, 173, 174 n.  
 Metropolitans, rights of, 89  
 Michael, St., and new Trinity, 179, 187, 188 n., 342  
 Military terms in Church Services, 270  
 Miracles, Eucharistic, 289, 303, 304  
 — change of, at Lourdes, 308  
 Miraculous cures, medal, lot, 198, 341, 345  
*Missa*, meaning of, 267 n.  
 Missionary work in R.C., 111, 300, 301,  
 — need of best men in, 112  
 Monasteries, beginning of, 93  
 — as landlords and the poor, 124, 126  
 — subject to bishops, 94  
 Monastic life, sacerdotal preferred, 93  
 Movement, parallel, in England and Rome, 251, 252  
 Mozarabic New Year's Service, 95, 267  
 Mysticism not confined to religion, 139  
 Napoleonic idea in Positivism, 225-228  
 National Church in Spain, 161, 164, 165, 172, 175  
 — Councils and Kings, 87, 163, 164  
 Non-jurors and *La Petite Église*, 212 n.  
 Oath of bishops at Council, 314  
 Oddfellows parodying the Mass, 291  
 Ordination, an, at Rome, 240  
 Organic Articles and Concordat, 214  
 Ornament, pagan, and Moslem in churches, 23, 24  
 Oxford Movement, opposition to, 127, 129  
 — parallel with Ultramontane, 251, 252  
 Papal authority and jurisdiction, 84, 85, 173  
 — above Canon law, 319  
 — at Council of Trent, 110  
 — centralization of, 337  
 — in Latin-American Council, 314  
 — opposition to, in Spain, 85, 86, 169  
 Patronage, church, in Spain, 89, 165, 263  
 — in Basque Provinces, 264  
 — in Spanish America, 166  
*Petite Église*, origin of, 204  
 — and Jansenists, 207, 211  
 — where strongest, 205  
 Philip II., attitude of, to Pope and clergy, 167  
 — rights of his predecessors, 168

- Pilgrimages revived by the Assumptionist Fathers, 243, 277, 339, 341  
 Pius VII. and the Concordat, 201, 203, 211, 213  
 Place-names, ancient, 21, 22  
 Positivism, 228  
 Prayer-book translated into Spanish, 143, 172 *n.*  
 Preaching, street, of hell, 103, 111  
*Presse, la Bonne*, 241, 242, 246  
 Propaganda, foundation of, 111,  
 Property, Maurice on, 226  
 — Leo XIII. on, 230 *n.*  
 — letter on, 233-238  
 — present conditions of, 230, 231,  
 Protest of French bishops in 1803, 204  
 — in 1826, 222  
 Real Presence, 299  
 Reformation, inner, in Church of Rome, 100-103  
 — opposition to Monastic, in Spain, 125, 127  
 Reformers, Italian, too esoteric, 102  
 — works of Spanish, 143, 149, 176  
 Refrain in Latin verse, 49  
 Regalism, beginning of, 163  
 Religion, bond of unity in Spain, 167  
 Resignation of Sees by bishops, 1789, 1802, 201, 202  
 Revelations and visions, 108, 180, 341, 342  
 Rite, Roman, introduced into France, 241, 324  
 — Spain, 81, 95, 160  
 — Bulgarian, 301  
 Ritual, tolerance of, differences, 281  
 Rivalry of Sees for Primacy in Spain, 12  
 Rome, no recourse to, 90  
 — Congregations, authority of, 324, 327  
 Royal authority in Church matters, 87  
 — supremacy, 170  
 Sacrifice, self, 227, 282, 292, 348, 350, 351  
 Salinis, Archbp., his Gallican teachers, 249, 250  
 Schools and the Church, 331  
 Schools, Sunday, 102, 302  
 Seats in Church, 302  
*Sedes Apostolica* in Spain, 96  
 Seminaries, diocesan, 111, 328  
 Sign of the Cross, 55  
*Sœurs, Petites, de l'Assomption*, 245  
 Spain free from heresy, 83  
 — pious customs originated in, 94  
 Spanish bishops and national councils, 94  
 — abolition of councils, 97  
 Spiritism a heresy, 334  
 Suicer's *Thesaurus*, need of new edition, 288  
 Symbolism of the fish, palm, etc., 63  
 — in visions, 189-9  
 Synods, diocesan and provincial, 335  
 Theatricals, private, 54  
 Thémînes, Bp. of Petite Église, 208, 213  
 Tolerance of differing ritual, 281  
 — of early Spaniards, 96  
 Trinity, a new, 186, 187, 196, 197, 342  
 Ultramontanism in Spain, 158, 159  
 — and democracy, 223  
 Union of Churches, 242, 277, 278, 288  
 University teaching of a St. Sulpice, 222, 244, 331  
 Vatican Council, 215, 220, 337  
 Virgil in Christian verse, 39, 55  
 — *sortes Virgilianæ*, 259  
 Virgin, the Blessed, in nineteenth century, 341  
 — in Eucharist, 108, 308  
 — scapulary of Heart of, 327 *n.*  
 Visions and revelations, 180, 184, 185, 186, 197  
 Women and clergy, 329  
 Xavier, St. Francis, hymn of, 111, 134  
 — missions and missionaries, 111, 112  
 Zouaves, Papal enthusiasm of, 242 *n.*



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